THE RISE AND FALL OF THE AFTERLIFE

The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures
at the University of Bristol

Jan N. Bremmer

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The afterlife is still very much alive in Western civilisation, even though the truth of its existence is no longer universally accepted. Surprisingly, however, heaven, hell and the immortal soul were all ideas which arrived relatively late in the ancient world. Originally Greece and Israel – the cultures that gave us Christianity – had only the vaguest ideas of an afterlife. So where did these concepts come from and why did they develop?

In this fascinating, learned, but highly readable book, Jan N. Bremmer – one of the foremost authorities on ancient religion – takes a fresh look at the major developments in the Western imagination of the afterlife, from the ancient Greeks to the modern near-death experience. He reveals

- the new ways of thinking about the afterlife developed by the Greeks
- that the philosopher Pythagoras pioneered both the concept of the immortal soul and of reincarnation
- how the Greek Orphic 'sect' developed the idea of a type of hell
- the lack of influence of ancient shamanism on Greek ideas of the soul
- that the Jews, independently from the Persians, originated the idea of resurrection, but only after Alexander the Great's conquest of Palestine
- that Greeks, Romans, Jews and Christians all contributed to the birth of the Christian afterlife
- the origins of the term 'Paradise'
- how ancient necromancy and modern spiritualism converge and differ
- the similarities and differences between ancient, medieval and modern near-death experiences.

This perceptive and intriguing book concludes that every period gets the afterlife it deserves. It will be of interest to all those interested in what other cultures have believed about life after death, as well as being a standard work for students and researchers in ancient religions, cultural history, and the history and sociology of religion.

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in memoriam patris
ROLF HENDRIK BREMMER
1917–1995

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PREFACE

This book is a revised, documented and expanded version, with the addition of three appendixes, of the six Read-Tuckwell Lectures that I had the honour of delivering at the University of Bristol in the early summer of 1995. The Read-Tuckwell lectureship was established in the 1930s as a residual bequest to the University by Alice Read-Tuckwell for the purpose of lectures on Human Immortality and related matters. Given this subject, it seemed to me a challenge to analyse the most important developments in Western ideas concerning the soul and the afterlife from the point of view of a classicist and historian of religion. I therefore selected as my topics: the rise of the immortal soul; the resurrection; the birth of the Christian afterlife until the idea of Purgatory had established itself; spiritualism, and the near-death experience. In the last two chapters, though, I do not focus solely on modern developments but compare them with similar phenomena in antiquity and, in the case of the near-death experience, also with those in the Middle Ages.

While in Bristol, my wife and I greatly enjoyed the hospitality of the University, and I feel a deep sense of gratitude to the Department of Classics and Ancient History for their invitation. The lectures were interspersed with seminars on related topics, which broadened my views, as did the discussions following the lectures. For chairing the various sessions I would like to thank in particular Ronald Hutton, Fernando Cervantes and Kieran Flanagan. Our Bristolian friends Jeanne and Peter Crosse were a delight as always. Finally, I owe a particular thanks to Richard Buxton for his impeccable organisation of the lectures. I will always remember them as one of the highlights in a friendship that has lasted now for nearly a quarter of a century.

Several of the lectures have since been delivered at other places, and two of the chapters have already been published, albeit in a preliminary, shorter version, as have the three appendixes. I thank my hosts for their hospitality and the publishers for their permission to reprint these contributions. Naturally, in the course of investigating so many different subjects I have felt myself regularly out of my depth. If I have not stumbled too much, this is wholly to be attributed to the information and criticisms of many friends and colleagues, who also kindly revised my English. I give details about places of delivery,

previous publications and intellectual debts at the end of each chapter and appendix, but I would like to mention here in particular Ken Dowden, Bob Fowler, Fritz Graf, Ton Hilhorst and Peter van Minnen.

For the past four years I have served as Dean of the Faculty of Theology and Science of Religion at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. This position meant that I often had to work on this book in stolen moments. I certainly would not have been able to finish it in the foreseeable future, had I not been at the Institute for Advanced Study in the autumn of 2000: if there is a heaven on earth, it must be in Princeton. I thank the Institute for electing me to a Membership and my own Faculty for supporting my stay.

I dedicate this book to the memory of my father, a Calvinist minister and church historian. He instilled a love of history into his children and was a staunch believer in the 'life everlasting'. Last but not least, I thank my wife Christine for putting up with so much afterlife in this life.

Jan N. Bremmer
Groningen and Princeton, Christmas 2000

ABBREVIATIONS

ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
DDD	K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P.W. van der Horst (eds), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (Leiden, 1999[2])
EI	E. Yarshater (ed), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London, 1982–)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–)
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
LIMC	*Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich, 1981–98)
MD	*Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PGM	*Papyri Graecae Magicae*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
POxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Oxford, 1898–)
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RE	*Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1893–1980)
REG	*Revue des Etudes Grecques*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SIFC	*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*
SMSR	*Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
VigChris	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

For texts and fragments I have used the most recent standard editions.

1

INVENTING THE AFTERLIFE

Even though their existence is no longer universally accepted, heaven and hell are still very much alive in Western civilisation. Priests and ministers often refer to them (if, admittedly, less to hell), literature uses them as metaphors, and the cinema even occasionally tries to represent them. Our ideas about the afterlife are part of the legacy of Christianity. As the first Christians were Jews, who lived in an area, Palestine, which at the time of Jesus was already heavily influenced by Greek culture,[1] we might have expected that both Greece and Israel – or at least one of them – always had fully developed ideas about the soul and the afterlife. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. Heaven, hell and the immortal soul were all relative latecomers in the ancient world. Where, then, did these concepts come from and why did they develop? It is these questions which have stimulated me to write this study. Naturally, a book based on a series of lectures can only be selective. That is why I will start with a short, panoramic survey of the development of the soul (section 1) and afterlife (section 2) among the Greeks and Jews (section 3) of the pre-Christian era. This survey will provide the reader with the necessary background against which the succeeding chapters (section 4) have to be seen.

1. Greek concepts of the soul

In the twentieth century the Western world has seen a meteoric rise of the sciences of *psych*iatry and *psycho*logy: clearly, we all want to care for our *psychê*, 'soul', in this world.[2] However, an early Greek would not have understood this usage of *psychê*, since in the poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, there is not one seat of a person's psychological attributes, but an enormously varied vocabulary.[3] The most important word for the seat of emotions, such as friendship, anger, joy and grief, as well as emotion itself, is *thymos*,[4] but there is also *menos*,[5] 'fury', *noos*, 'the act of the mind',[6] and the words for kidney, heart,[7] lungs, liver and gallbladder, although all these words are often used in a semantically indistinguishable and redundant way.[8]

Unlike these terms, the *psychê* is never mentioned when its owner functions normally.[9] This happens only at times of crisis. For instance, when the embassy of the Greek army beseeches Achilles to suppress his anger and resume

fighting, he complains that he has been continually risking his *psychê* (IX.322). And when a spear was pulled from the thigh of Sarpedon, one of the allies of the Trojans, 'his *psychê* left him and a mist came upon his eyes' (V.696). In these, as in all other cases, the *psychê* is responsible for the maintenance of a person's life, but its relative lack of importance is confirmed by the obscurity of its location. We only know for sure that it flew away from the limbs (XVI.856, XXII.362), through the mouth (IX.409), the chest (XVI.505) or through a wound in the flank (XIV.518).

It is the great merit of Scandinavian anthropologists in particular to have collected large amounts of data to show that most 'primitive' peoples have thought that man has two kinds of souls. On the one hand, there is what these scholars call the free-soul, a soul which represents the individual personality. This soul is inactive when the body is active; it manifests itself only during swoons, dreams or at death (the experiences of the 'I' during the swoons or dreams are ascribed to this soul), but it has no clear connections with the physical or psychological aspects of the body.[10] On the other hand, there are a number of body-souls, which endow the body with life and consciousness, but of which none stands for the part of a person that survives after death.[11]

The Homeric concept of the soul of the living is clearly closely related to this 'primitive', dualistic concept of the soul. Here too we find on the one hand the *psychê*, a kind of free-soul, and on the other the body souls, *thymos*, *noos* and *menos*, as well as the more physical organs, such as *phrenes*, 'lungs', and *êtor*, 'heart'. The free-soul was often associated with the breath, and this seems to have happened in Greece as well, since *psychê* is etymologically connected with *psychein*, 'to blow or to breathe'.[12] The connection was already made by Anaximenes (*ca*. 550–500 BC), who seems to have stated that the *psychê* held our body together and controlled it just as the wind controls the earth (B 2 DK). He was followed by other philosophers,[13] and the same connection still occurs as a *figura etymologica* in an Orphic Gold Leaf (Ch. 2.2) found in 1974: '(the Underworld), where the *psychai* of the dead *psychontai*, "breathe." '[14]

In post-Homeric times the *psychê* no longer leaves the body of a living person, but otherwise its meaning gradually expands at the end of the Archaic Age.[15] Hipponax now can say: 'I will give my much-enduring *psychê* to evils',[16] a passage where *psychê* seems to come very close to our meaning of 'self'. Somewhat differently, in a famous poem the more or less contemporaneous Anacreon says of a 'boy with virgin glance' that he is 'the charioteer of my *psychê*' (fr. 360 Page), where the *psychê* presumably is the seat of his emotional feelings.[17] This development of the soul was taken up by Pythagoras when he 'invented' reincarnation and thus, by stressing the importance of the return of the soul, revalued the *psychê* in a remarkable way (Ch. 2.1). Pindar continued both these developments. On the one hand, he brings *psychê* in a sense close to 'character', when he describes men as having '*psychai* superior to possessions' (*Nem.* 9.32) and, on the other, he made the soul even more important by calling it now 'from the gods' (fr. 129 Maehler).[18]

In the later tragedians the *psychê* has become the seat of all kinds of emotions and seems completely to have incorporated the *thymos*. The *psychê* now sighs, suffers pangs of emotion and melts in despair. It can even become 'tied to bed' (Eur. *Hipp*. 160) or 'joined to a thiasos' (Eur. *Bacch.* 75–6).[19] This development of the *psychê* as the centre of man's inner life culminated in Socrates' view that a man's most important task was 'to care for his *psychê*';[20] at the same time, the incorporation of the *thymos* into the *psychê* probably led Plato to his theory of a tripartite soul.[21] However, not all Greeks accepted the soul–body dualism, as Plato and Aristotle now articulated it in their varying ways. Important philosophical schools, such as the Epicureans and Stoics, or influential physicians, such as Herophilus and Erasistratus, continued to believe that the *psychê* does not exist independently from its body.[22]

Through the *Septuagint*, which was gradually composed in Alexandria in the third century BC (Appendix 2.4), *psychê* entered the vocabulary of the Greek-speaking Jewish community and subsequently that of the early Christians.[23] As the Old Testament did not yet know the Greek opposition of soul and body (section 3), it would take a while before the early Christians started to use *psychê* in such a way. For example, in the apostle Paul we rarely find *psychê* and never in respect to the afterlife. He sometimes uses Jewish-sounding combinations like 'every *psychê*' (*Romans* 13.1); more 'normally', he uses *psychê* as the seat of emotions in his *Letter to Philippians* (1.27). It is only after the growing influence of philosophically trained Greek theologians, such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen, that the Platonic opposition was gradually taken over by the Christian community (Ch. 5.2). And in due time, the Greek concept of the soul would influence the ancient Germanic world via the Latin translations of the Bible and thus, eventually, be responsible for the content of our modern term 'soul', which derives from Germanic **saiwalo*.[24]

Unlike the soul of the living, ideas about the soul of the dead have received much less systematic attention from scholars.[25] Not surprisingly, anthropological studies have looked at those elements of the soul of the living that survive as a soul of the dead. To give one example, the word for the free-soul among the Siberian Mordvins is *ört*. Since the soul of the dead is also called *ört*, the conclusion can be drawn that among the Mordvins the idea of the soul of the dead was derived from the free-soul of the living, and this is indeed the case among most peoples. In Greece we would therefore expect that it was the *psychê* that survived, and that is exactly what we find. The dead Patroclus is represented by his *psychê*, who 'resembles him in every respect' (XXIII.65). Sometimes *psychê* is connected with *eidôlon*, 'image', as in the case of Patroclus, whose *psychê* 'was wondrous like him' (XXIII.104–7). The *psychê* of the Homeric dead has even kept some emotional faculties, since Ajax's *psychê* stands 'angrily' aside and others are 'grieving' (*Od*. 11.541–3).[26]

Yet, such *psychai* are exceptions to the rule and typical of literature where individual dead have to have some mental faculties in order to come on stage.[27] In other passages we hear that the *psychê* of the dead cannot be touched

(XXIII.100), that it lacks the *phrenes* (XXIII.104) and that only the seer Teiresias possesses a *noos*: the others are mere 'shadows' (11.493–5). The dead are 'the worn-out' (11.476) or 'the feeble heads of the dead' (10.521, 11.29). What is striking here is the plural: the dead were clearly considered to be an enormous, undifferentiated group, as is also illustrated by a fragment of Sophocles, where the dead are compared to a swarm of bees: 'Up [from the underworld] comes the swarm of the souls, loudly humming.'[28] With so many visitors, it is not hard to understand that Aeschylus calls the Lord of the Underworld 'the most hospitable Zeus of the dead'.[29]

This meaning of *psychê* as 'soul of the dead' will remain present all through antiquity, although it is relatively rare in lyric and elegiac poets and in tragedy. Yet the revaluation of the *psychê* of the living also affected the ways the dead were seen,[30] and in the fifth century the dead are said to be *apsychoi*, 'without a *psychê*'; dead Achilles can be called a 'corpse without a *psychê*', and, in a parody of this usage, Aristophanes even speaks of a *psychê apsychos*, 'a soul-less soul'![31] The usage of *psychê* as soul of the dead was also taken over by the Jews and Christians.[32] The best early example is undoubtedly in *Revelations* (20.4), where in one of his visions the author sees 'the *psychai* of those who were beheaded' in heaven.

2. Greek ideas of the afterlife

Now if the *psychê* changed in character over the ages, can we observe the same regarding life after death? In the *Iliad* a soul of the dead goes straight to the underworld,[33] whose gates are guarded by canine Cerberus (*Il.* V.646).[34] It is situated under the world, but also in the west – perhaps a sign of a conflation of different ideas about the underworld.[35] The soul can reach this 'mirthless place' (11.94; Hes. *Op.* 152–5) only by crossing a river, the Styx, a crossing for which no help is required (XXIII.70–101; 11.51–4), but which cannot be done without a proper burial.[36] The picture of the underworld is bleak and sombre, and dead Achilles understandably says: 'do not try to make light of death to me; I would sooner be bound to the soil in the hire of another man, a man without lot and without much to live on, than be ruler over all the perished dead' (11.489–91).

The underworld is called Hades,[37] which the most recent analyses appropriately connect with a root **a-wid-*, 'invisible, unseen',[38] whereas its deepest region was called Tartarus.[39] The place gave its name to the homonymous ruler of the underworld, who was a shadowy god in Greece with few myths and fewer cults; he does not even occur with certainty on archaic vases.[40] Homer (XV.187–93) mentions that he acquired the underworld through a lottery with his brothers Zeus and Poseidon. The passage is one more example of the increasingly recognised Oriental influence on Homer, since it ultimately derives from the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis*.[41] Hades' connection with the underworld made him 'horrible' (VIII.368) and 'the most hated of all the

gods' (IX.158), although only post-Homeric times depict him as a judge of the dead (Ch. 7.1). Fear made people euphemistically refer to him as, for example, 'Zeus of the Underworld' (IX.457), 'the chthonian god' (Aesch. *Pers*. 629) or 'the god below' (Soph. *Ajax* 571). He was even death personified.[42]

Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has related this negative idea of the afterlife to a more general attitude towards death.[43] She started from Philippe Ariès' splendid *L'Homme devant la mort*, which daringly surveys the development of the attitudes towards death from the Middle Ages until modern times.[44] According to Ariès, there is in Western Europe a development of an attitude that goes from accepting death, via fearing death, to finally concealing death. At the same time, we see a corresponding change of interest in the afterlife: from relative unimportance, it becomes the overwhelming focus of interest, whereas nowadays belief in it is gradually disappearing.[45]

Do we not find something like a similar development in early Greece? There can be little doubt that early Greece comes very close to the first period sketched by Ariès, the 'Tamed or Domesticated Death', in which death is accepted as a natural phenomenon. The disguised goddess Athena tells Odysseus' son Telemachus: 'death is common to all men, and not even the gods can keep it off a man they love, when the portion of death which brings long woe destroys him' (3.236–8). In contemporary mythology, personified death (Thanatos) is the brother of personified Sleep (Hypnos).[46] This appears to be another way to express the feeling that death is something natural and, once it has come, unthreatening. Death, then, is unavoidable and even the children of the gods, even mighty Heracles, die and go to Hades.

Already in later parts of the *Odyssey*, indications of a change in this picture become visible. For the first time, we now hear of a special abode for a happy few. In Book 4 of the *Odyssey* Proteus relates to Menelaos that he will not die, but the gods will send him 'to the Elysian Plain at the ends of the earth', an area with an attractive, always moderate climate (563–7). The name of Elysion is pre-Greek, and we therefore cannot know to what extent the poet used older representations.[47] In any case, in the somewhat later Hesiodic *Works and Days* we hear of the Islands of the Blessed,[48] to which many heroes will come at the end of their lives on earth (167–73).[49] This changing conception is also seen in Books 11 and 24 of the *Odyssey* where Hermes appears as a guide. It is only in the epic *Minyas* that we hear of a ferryman of the dead, Charon – naturally an old man, since the glory of youth would not fit the gloomy underworld.[50] His late arrival in Greece is confirmed by the fact that the custom of burying a deceased with an obol, a small coin, for Charon becomes visible only in the fifth century.[51] Guides suggest a difficult route. In other words, the appearance of these figures implies that the world of the dead was mentally dissociated from the living: death had apparently become less natural, less easy to tolerate. At the same time, a guide is also someone who knows the way: the need for a reassuring, knowing person is therefore also a sign of a growing anxiety about one's own fate after death.

This uncertainty is reflected in a growing interest in the area of the dead, as illustrated by the accounts of a descent into the underworld. The myths of Heracles and Theseus in Hades, whose descent had first only stressed their bravery,[52] increasingly provided details about the underworld. The gradual 'upgrading' of the underworld becomes visible in different ways and in different milieus in our texts. At the Eleusinian mysteries there had long since been a promise of a better life in the hereafter, though without detail, as is illustrated by Sophocles' words: 'Thrice blessed are those mortals who have seen these rites and thus enter Hades: for them alone there is life, for the others all is misery' (F 837 Radt).[53] In Pythagorean and Orphic circles (Ch. 2), however, the idea arose of a 'symposium of the pure' (Pl. *Rep*. 2.363c). This is already visible in the Sicilian Empedocles, one of the early Greek intellectuals and 'miracle-men' (however curious this combination may seem to us), who states that having completed its reincarnations the soul will become a table-companion of the gods (B 147 DK). The idea ultimately goes back to the mythological tradition that important mortals shared the table of the gods,[54] but we do not know whether Empedocles derived the idea from the Orphics or the Pythagoreans, since both movements shared the idea, which would remain popular well into the Hellenistic period.[55] At the same time, the Orphics developed the idea of a kind of hell, where sinners had to wallow in the mud (Ch. 2.2). It is in the fifth century, then, in Orphic–Pythagorean milieus that the contours of the later Christian distinction between heaven and hell first become visible.

There is another idea which cannot be traced to a precise milieu. In the later fifth century Hades had already received the name Plouton, 'the rich one', which was related to the Eleusinian cult figure Ploutos.[56] He now not only became the god who sent up 'good things' to the mortals from below, but was also believed to be a 'good and prudent god'.[57] The connection between the underworld and material wealth is also expressed by the names used to denote the dead. Whereas in Homer, as we saw, the dead were preferably called the 'feeble heads of the dead', we now find terms such as *olbioi*, *eudaimones* or *makarioi*, 'blessed'.[58] However, unlike our modern 'blessed', the Greeks interpreted these words in a strictly materialistic sense: the dead were people blessed with material goods and better off than the living.[59]

In the later fifth century these ideas about the 'good life' in the underworld were also exploited by Athenian comedy. Pherekrates has given a graphic description of the wealth that was awaiting the dead in the beyond in his *Metalleis* (I quote an excerpt):

> All things in the world yonder were mixed with wealth and fashioned with every blessing in every way. Rivers full of porridge and black broth flowed babbling through the channels spoons and all, and lumps of cheese-cake too. Hence the morsel could slip easily and oilily of its own accord down the throats of the dead. Blood-puddings

> there were, and hot slices of sausage lay scattered by the river banks just like shells. Yes and there were roasted fillets nicely dressed with all sorts of spiced sauces. Close at hand, too, on platters, were whole hams with shin and all, most tender . . . Roast thrushes . . . flew round our mouths entreating us to swallow them as we lay stretched among the myrtles and anemones. And the apples! . . . Girls in silk shawls, just reaching the flower of youth, and shorn of the hair on their bodies, drew through a funnel full cups of red wine with fine bouquet for all who wished to drink. And whenever one had eaten or drunk of these things, straightaway there came forth once more twice as much again.
>
> (F 113 K.-A., tr. C.B. Gulick, Loeb)

The stress on food is of course a reflection of the precarious food situation which would dominate the Western world until the twentieth century, and we cannot fail to see that Pherekrates' picture is closely related to those medieval ones of the Schlaraffenland or the Land of Cockaigne.[60]

Others took a completely different direction and rejected a subterranean afterlife altogether; inspired by Pythagoreanism, they preferred a celestial immortality.[61] This idea becomes first visible *ca.* 432 BC, when on an official war monument the souls of fallen Athenians are said to have been received by the *aithêr*, 'the upper air', but their bodies by the earth (*IG* I^3 1179.6–7). Euripides picked it up and first seems to have applied it to deified mortals (*Erechtheus*, IV.71–2 Diggle) and war heroes (*Suppl.* 533–4), but he later allowed the *aithêr* also to ordinary mortals (*Hel.* 1013–6; *Or.* 1086–7), after which, in various variations, we find the idea on private gravestones well into later antiquity, even in Jewish and Christian contexts.[62]

Given all these new developments, it can hardly be a surprise that the fifth-century public was very interested in the nature of the underworld. This interest is well illustrated by the references in tragedy and comedy to its goings on (above), its geography and its most famous inhabitants.[63] Yet, despite the arrival of all these new ideas, the old conceptions did not die.[64] On the contrary, tragedy and Plato show that on the whole the Athenian public did not firmly believe in rewards or punishments after death.[65] In fact, they do not seem to have expected very much at all. 'After death every man is earth and shadow: nothing goes to nothing', states a character in Euripides' *Meleagros* (fr. 532 Nauck^2).[66] It is always hazardous to extrapolate from a literary genre to collective representations,[67] but we can confidently state that in tragedy Orphic and Pythagorean views of the underworld are conspicuously absent. In Plato's *Phaedo* Simmias even claims that it is the fear of the majority that their soul is scattered at death 'and this is their end' (77b). Most Athenians may therefore have agreed with the statement in Euripides' *Hypsipyle* that: 'One buries children, one gains new children, one dies oneself. Mortals do take this heavily, carrying earth to earth. But it is necessary to harvest life like a fruit-

bearing ear of corn, and that the one be, the other not' (234–8 Diggle). It is this attitude which predominantly survived among the Greeks into the Byzantine period – even among the Christians.[68]

3. Soul and underworld in the Old Testament

Let us now turn to the world of ancient Israel. We are much less informed about Israelite ideas concerning the soul and the underworld than about Greek views, since our only source is the Old Testament. Moreover, the texts of those books of the Old Testament which describe the earliest period of the Israelites have been revised at a relatively late stage in Israel's history, probably after the Babylonian exile, in the so-called Deuteronomist revision.[69] Consequently, studies of Israelite concepts customarily limit themselves to a synchronic description for the time covered by the Old Testament. It is only in the intertestamentary, Hellenistic period that we start to find Greek influence.

There is in ancient Hebrew no term equivalent to our 'soul'. From the various words which together correspond to our notion of the soul,[70] the most important one is *næpæš*,[71] which seems to have combined the functions of the *thymos* and *psychê* of the living. It is probably connected with a root meaning 'breath' (*Exodus* 23.12, 31.17; *2 Samuel* 16.14) and can often be translated 'life' or 'life-force'. For example, when Rachel was dying, her *næpæš* left her (*Genesis* 35.18) and when the prophet Eliah resurrected the son of a widow, he prayed for the return of his *næpæš* (*1 Kings* 17.21–2). At the same time, the term can also signify the seat of emotions, such as the inclination to evil (*Proverbs* 21.10) or the desire for God (*Psalm* 42.2). Unlike *psychê*, though, it never means the soul of the dead and is not contrasted with the body. Israelite anthropology was strictly unitarian and remained so until the first century AD, when the Greek belief in an immortal soul started to gain ground in Palestine and the Diaspora. It cannot be chance that we find the first examples of this development among those Jews, who had been thoroughly influenced by Hellenistic culture, such as Josephus (*Bell. Jud*. 2.154–65, *Ant*. 18.14–8) and Philo (*De mundi opificio* 135).

In historical times the hereafter is called Sheol, which in the *Septuagint* normally is translated 'Hades',[72] but in the oldest Israelite ideas the grave must have played an important role, since 'to go down into the grave' (*Psalm* 16.10, 28.1 etc.) is equivalent to 'to go down into Sheol' (*Genesis* 37.35, 42.38, etc.).[73] Sheol was located beneath the earth (*Psalm* 63.10), filled with worms and dust (*Isaiah* 14.11, 26.19) and impossible to escape from (*Job* 7.9f). Its shadow-like (*Isaiah* 14.9) inhabitants no longer thought of the living (*Job* 21.21) or even of God himself (*Psalm* 88.13). Good and bad – Sheol received them all (*Psalm* 89.49).[74]

It was only in the post-exilic period that new ideas came to the fore. Good and bad now started to be thought living in different compartments of Sheol (*1 Enoch* 22). As the earliest strata of the *Book of Enoch* must go back to the third

century BC, it is attractive to connect this development with Jewish presence in Alexandria, where early second-century Jewish historians already made Orpheus a witness to the truth of the Mosaic law (Artapanus *FGrH* 726 F 3), and adapted Orphic literature in the so-called *Testament of Orpheus*.[75] Moreover, in the second century BC Sheol started to be complemented by Gehenna. This valley south of Jerusalem, where tradition located the sacrifice of children to Moloch during the time of the kings,[76] now first became thought of as the place where punishments would be dealt out after the Last Judgement, but soon became the name for the fiery hell destined for the impious straight after their death and after the Last Judgement.[77]

However, as in Greece, old and new continued to co-exist. Josephus relates that the Pharisees located the souls of the righteous and the unjust in the underworld (*Bell. Jud.* 2.163, *Ant.* 18.14), but mentions that he himself, despite being a Pharisee, believed that only the souls of the bad went to Hades, whereas the souls of the righteous remained in heaven until the final resurrection (*Bell. Jud.* 3.375). In fact, Jewish inscriptions and literature show that old ideas about the lack of a real afterlife would still have a long and persistent life (Ch. 3.2).

4. **Plan of the book**

Having seen that the soul and the underworld have their history too, I will now deal in detail with several particular problems and developments. First, I will discuss the rise of the immortal soul in Greece, which took place in the milieu of two closely related movements at the margin of the Greek city, Pythagoreanism and Orphism. Considering the importance of these milieus for the development of the Western concept of the soul, some attention will be paid as well to their lifestyle, religious ideas and social composition. In the case of Orphism, especially, the years since 1970 have provided a stream of new discoveries which enable us to sketch a much more detailed picture of this movement than previous generations could (Ch. 2). Accounts of journeys of the soul, however, were already ascribed to 'miracle-workers' from the Archaic Age and we will have to discuss these accounts as well in order to refine our picture of the rise of the immortal soul in ancient Greece (Ch. 3).

After Greece, we turn to the early Christians. The most striking innovation in the eyes of pagans undoubtedly was the belief in the resurrection. The Christians owed this belief to the Jews, but from whom did the Jews in turn derive their ideas? Did they borrow them from the Persians? And did pagans, perhaps, later borrow the idea from the Christians? The possibility of exchanging religious ideas has often been neglected, but will be of particular interest here (Ch. 4). How did the early Christians construct their representations of the afterlife? Did they exploit the current Jewish and Greco-Roman pool of ideas about life after death or did they develop new ones inspired by their own tradition? We will follow these developments in Western

Christianity until the birth of Purgatory, the last great addition to normative Christian afterlife (Ch. 5). After the Renaissance belief in the hereafter started to decline, although sometimes vigorous efforts were made to reverse this development. We can not chronicle the whole of this history, but must limit ourselves to a brief discussion of spiritualism, the penultimate great 'invention' regarding the afterlife, which we will contrast with ancient necromancy (Ch. 6). We conclude our survey with some reflections on the logical conclusion to this development: the vision of an afterlife without any religious component in the modern so-called near-death experiences, which we will compare with similar accounts from antiquity and the Middle Ages (Ch. 7).

We add three appendices. Given the attention we have paid to the early Christians, we first ask why they actually started to call themselves 'Christians' (Appendix 1). We continue with the birth of the term 'paradise', a term which started to be used for the place of the afterlife in the inter-testamentary period (Appendix 2). Finally, we discuss a recently discovered late antique vision of God's palace in heaven as a military court (Appendix 3). After all, although we mainly study collective representations, we should never forget that precisely in this field people can also have their very own idiosyncratic ideas.

2

ORPHISM, PYTHAGORAS AND THE RISE OF THE IMMORTAL SOUL

Having looked at the earlier Greek and Israelite ideas about the soul and conceptions of the afterlife, we will now face the question when and why the soul was 'upgraded' in ancient Greece. An important stage in this process was the rise of the doctrine of reincarnation,[1] of which the earliest representatives were Pythagoras and the Orphics, until very recently a somewhat obscure Greek 'sect'. The evidence about Pythagoras has long been familiar; he himself is the subject of a definitive study by Walter Burkert,[2] and recent years have hardly provided any surprises in giving us new texts.[3] However, in the case of the Orphics we are in a completely different situation. Since 1970, we have had the preliminary publication of a commentary on what may well be the oldest Orphic theogony (the famous Derveni papyrus),[4] the discovery of Orphic bone tablets,[5] a steady stream of Orphic 'Gold Leaves' (the small inscribed gold lamellae found in graves),[6] and the appearance on the market of new Apulian vases with representations of Orpheus and the afterlife.[7] These astonishing new discoveries enable us to place Orphic teachings about reincarnation in the framework of this intriguing movement in a more detailed way than was possible in earlier studies, which are now all to a larger or lesser extent out of date.[8] As each publication in the continuing stream of new Gold Leaves obliges us to revise our ideas, this chapter is more in the nature of an interim report than a definitive statement. We will first look at the rise of the soul as exemplified by reincarnation in Pythagoreanism, Parmenides and Empedocles (section 1), then at Orphic practices, organisation and teachings (section 2), and conclude with an attempt at explaining the rise of the soul at the end of the Archaic period (section 3).

1. **Pythagoras, Parmenides, Empedocles**

Unfortunately, not much is known about Pythagoras' life. Around 530 BC, during the rule of the tyrant Polycrates, he left Samos and settled in South Italian Croton, a city ruled by an oligarchy, the Thousand, who were the descendants of the original colonists.[9] He will have been a member of the Samian aristocracy, as he was welcomed by the well-to-do Crotoniats with

whom he courted influence after his arrival in Croton. Although Croton never reached the state of luxury that made the Sybarites proverbial, they also seem to have been very affluent. There is a tradition preserved that due to Pythagoras the women of Croton no longer dared to wear expensive clothes but dedicated them in the most prominent sanctuary of the town, the temple of Hera Lacinia, of which the excavated treasures eloquently show its one-time wealth.[10] After Croton had defeated Sybaris *ca*. 510 BC, its upper class lapsed into luxury; moreover, trouble broke out over the land conquered in the war against Sybaris.[11] As a result of these developments Pythagoras moved to Metapontum, where he reportedly died five years later.[12]

Pythagoras' concern with reincarnation is already attested by his contemporary Xenophanes (B 7 DK), who tells the following uncomplimentary anecdote:

> And once, they say, when he passed by a dog which was being maltreated, he pitied the animal and said these words: 'Stop! Don't beat him! For he is the soul of a friend whom I recognised straightaway when I heard his voice'.[13]

In his book *On the Soul* (407b20), Aristotle is equally explicit: 'They try to say what kind of thing the soul is,[14] but do not go on to specify about the body which is to receive the soul, as though it were possible, as in the tales of the Pythagoreans, for just any soul to clothe itself in just any body'. And so is a first-century Ephesian epigram which states 'if according to Pythagoras the *psychê* passes to somebody else'.[15] Regrettably, we do not know how often Pythagoras thought of a reincarnation, but both Pindar (fr. 133 Maehler) and Plato (*Phaedr*. 249a) speak of three times, of which the first reincarnation has been occasioned by a mistake in the underworld, in what looks like a Pythagorean context.[16]

According to Porphyry (*VP* 19), who quotes Dicaearchus (fr. 33 Wehrli[2]), a pupil of Aristotle, it was also Pythagoras who first introduced these opinions into Greece. The statement probably reflects the perceived influence of the Master, but may nevertheless be historically true. Admittedly, the same claim has been made for the sixth-century Pherecydes of Syros,[17] but the earlier (although still not very early!) testimonies about him say only that Pherecydes was the first to consider the soul immortal,[18] whereas it is not before the Byzantine *Suda* that we hear that Pherecydes was the first to teach reincarnation.[19] In fact, the earliest mention of Pherecydes in connection with the afterlife of the soul explicitly refers to Pythagoras, not Pherecydes, as an authority. This appears from the following poem by the fifth-century Ion of Chios on Pherecydes (fr. 30 West[2], tr. Schibli):

> Thus adorned with manly pride and reverence, he [Pherecydes] has a pleasant life for his soul even though he be dead, if indeed Pythagoras

> was truly wise, who beyond all knew and searched out the thoughts of men.

The poem clearly attests to Pythagoras' early fame as an expert on afterlife.[20] As such he already figures in Herodotus (4.95–6), who connects him with the introduction of new ideas about life after death by the Thracian Zalmoxis.

Pythagorean teachings comprised both a 'puritan' view of the body and a separate lifestyle. The Pythagorean philosopher Philolaos (B 14 DK) was credited by Clement of Alexandria, probably wrongly,[21] with being the first to have stated that the body was the 'tomb' of the soul, an even more pessimistic view of the body than that of the Orphics, which Plato adopted in his later work.[22] Regarding the Pythagorean way of life, we have a large amount of information, which is often not easy to locate in a precise chronological context. There are persistent traditions that Pythagoras, unlike later Pythagoreans, was not a vegetarian. Apparently, he refrained only from eating the ram and the plough-ox, which it once, reportedly, had also been a crime to kill in Athens, but he liked sucking kids and cockerels.[23] Given that vegetarianism separates its practitioner from the community of sacrifice, it would indeed have been hard to believe that Pythagoras espoused the abstention of meat: his own active participation and that of his earliest followers in politics really speak against early vegetarianism; indeed, it would be hard to believe that those fourth-century Romans who had made their second king Numa a pupil of Pythagoras had done so, if the Master had always been a fully fledged vegetarian.[24] Apparently, the vegetarian fourth-century Pythagoreans no longer had political aspirations and had taken over Orphic practices (section 2).[25] Tradition does mention, though, a great number of taboos and prescriptions, such as 'Do not wear a ring', 'Do not step over a broom', 'Don't use cedar, laurel, myrtle, cypress or oak to cleanse your body or clean your teeth: they are for honouring the gods'.[26] The observance of all these rules must have made the life of the Pythagorean an extremely self-conscious one, in which a moment of carelessness could be fatal. The inclusion among these rules of having to wear white linen clothes clearly points to a well-to-do following,[27] as is also demonstrated by the Pythagorean domination of Croton until the massacre of their elite around 450 BC.

Other thinkers from southern Italy who propagated reincarnation were Parmenides and Empedocles. From the first we have only a rather cryptic fragment (B 13 DK), which is handed down by the Late Antique philosopher Simplicius (*In Phys*. 39, 20–1 Diels), who still had a copy of Parmenides' work in front of him.[28] After having mentioned a goddess who created the other gods, he adds that she has power over 'the souls of men, which she sends now from the visible towards the invisible and then the other way round'.[29] This is an isolated fragment in our tradition which does not enable to us say much more. However, the tradition that Pythagoras' pupil Ameinias had been the teacher of Parmenides seems to point to a Pythagorean direction.[30]

Parmenides' fame as a poet was soon outshone by the somewhat younger and, according to the ancients,[31] more attractive Empedocles, about whom Hippolytus states:

> Most of all he agrees with *metensomatosis* in the following words: 'already I have been a boy and a maiden, a bush and a bird and a fish jumping up from the sea'.
>
> (B 117 DK)

This changing from one being to another could take a very long time according to Empedocles (B 115 DK), as he tells in one of the longest fragments we have:

> whenever one of the daimons [souls][32] to whom long-lasting life is apportioned defiles his limbs sinfully, through fear,[33] and swears a false oath, he wanders for thrice ten thousand seasons, far from the blessed ones, being born in the course of time as all sorts of shapes of mortals, exchanging the rugged paths of life one for another. For the force of the air [*aithêr*] pursues him into the sea, and sea spits him out unto earth's surface . . . and all loathe him. I too am now one of these, an exile from god and a wanderer.[34]

Unlike Pythagoras, Empedocles drew the extreme consequence from his views about the migration of the soul into animals and considered the danger of some sacrifices being a kind of cannibalism. Like the Orphics, then, he must have practised a kind of vegetarianism. And indeed, a very recently discovered new papyrus of Empedocles has enabled us to restore a known, but corrupt, fragment (B 139 DK) into a haunting image of his revulsion from meat:

> Alas that the merciless day did not destroy me sooner, before I devised with my claws terrible deeds for the sake of food.[35]

The social isolation caused by vegetarianism cannot have been difficult for him, considering that he (B 112 DK) speaks of himself as 'an immortal god, mortal no more', words directed to his 'friends, who live in the great city of the yellow [river] Acragas, up on the heights of the citadel'. In other words, Empedocles was also part of the ruling aristocracy of Acragas.[36]

We have, then, testimonies for the doctrine of reincarnation in three early fifth-century South Italians: Pythagoras, Parmenides and Empedocles, of whom the latter two were closely connected with Pythagoras: Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 14) accused Empedocles of 'having stolen the theories' of Pythagoras, whereas Theophrastus (F 227A Fortenbaugh), more generously, stated that he was an admirer and follower of Parmenides 'and even more of the Pythagoreans', and Parmenides was (made?) the pupil of the Pythagorean Ameinias (above). Evidently, it was in Southern Italy that the definitive foundation was

laid for the idea of the soul as an immortal part of the human existence. Plato, too, connects a myth about afterlife with 'some clever Italian or Sicilian'.[37]

2. Orphism

In addition to attracting the interest of well-known philosophers, the soul was also the subject of speculation in another movement, Orphism. Unfortunately, the founders of this 'sect' remain totally invisible, since they 'published' only their views under the name of the mythical poet Orpheus. The movement was closely connected with Pythagoras as well, since Ion of Chios (B 2 DK) suggests that Pythagoras ascribed some of his poetry to Orpheus,[38] and Herodotus (2.81) speaks of 'observances which are called Orphic and Bacchic, though they are really Egyptian and Pythagorean' regarding an Egyptian taboo on wearing wool.[39]

There are few indications enabling us to decide the precise moment and place of the birth of Orphism. The oldest Orphic theogony seems to reflect the poem of Parmenides, which is commonly dated to the 490s BC. Orphism will therefore have postdated the first decade of the fifth century but predated Empedocles, who already had been influenced by it.[40] As perhaps could be expected, the connection with Parmenides and Empedocles points to Southern Italy or Sicily as the birth-place of Orphism.[41] Can it be that the death of Pythagoras had created a space for new views in the region?

Let us start our discussion of Orphism with a look at its ritual and social aspects. We have always been much less informed about Orphic practices, but in this respect, too, the new evidence mentioned in our introduction is shedding some light, although it is problematic whether we should reconstruct one master ritual or whether Orphic priests performed various kinds of rituals. Perhaps the latter, as also seems to be the case in the Derveni papyrus. Here, before discussing the Orphic *Theogony*, the commentator mentions that 'the *mystai* bring a preliminary sacrifice to the Eumenides according to the rites of the Magi, for the Eumenides are souls' (col. VI). It is very interesting that the same commentator observes in the preceding lines that these Magi (below) sacrifice umbilical cakes and bring libations of milk and water 'as if to pay a penalty', which strongly reminds us of the compensation for Persephone's 'ancient grief' (below).

Albert Henrichs once suggested that the mention of *mystai* probably points to the Eleusinian Mysteries, but the Orphic context rather suggests an Orphic ritual, since we know that Orphic initiates could also be called *mystai*.[42] This is the case both in the Gold Leaf from Hipponion (B 10), which speaks of '*bakchoi* and *mystai*', and in the one from Pherae (below), where the Orphic colouring is unmistakable. Moreover, a series of small Gold Leaves with often only the name of a deceased seem to belong to the same Orphic sphere and in some cases carry the name of the deceased with the addition of *mystês*.[43] Now an interest of Orphic priests in the dead is well attested by Plato in his *Republic* (364e–365a),

where he tells that Orphic priests also perform 'special rites for the deceased, which they call functions, that deliver us from evils in that otherworld, while terrible things await those who have neglected to sacrifice'. The Derveni commentator, then, may have first discussed rituals of Orphic priests before coming to the *Theogony*.

It is in this context, too, that the so-called Orphic Gold Leaves could find a place. From their content, it is clear that they can be both guides to the underworld and passwords into a happy hereafter, although in some Leaves only the 'password' function appears. Similar 'passwords' are mentioned for later Bacchic mysteries, and the new Pherae Leaf (below), which actually starts with 'passwords' (*symbola*), now proves that this is the correct interpretation of the Gold Leaves.[44] Taking the first verse of the Pelinna Gold Leaves (P 1, 2), 'Now you have died and now you have been born, thrice blessed, on this day', to refer to a ritual after the funeral, Fritz Graf has suggested, with some hesitation, that the Leaves presuppose a funeral. But would 'priests' always have been available in the case of sudden deaths outside big cities? The words could also be taken as addressing the deceased when starting the journey to Persephone, since the Platonic passage we just quoted shows that initiates were preparing for their later funeral.[45] The claim in the Thurii Gold Leaves (A 1–3) that the owner of the Leaf came 'pure from the pure' seems to point to the kind of purification ritual of which Plato speaks in the *Phaedo* (69b–d), where he relates that 'those who have established the rites of initiation (*teletas*)' maintain the doctrine that 'he who enters the next world uninitiated and unenlightened shall lie in the mire, but he who arrives there purified and enlightened shall dwell among the gods'. He then proceeds to say: 'You know how the initiation practitioners say: "many carry the fennel [narthex], but the *bakchoi* are few." ' It fits with these words that on the Hipponion and Pherae (below) Leaves the owners stress that they are *mystai*.

The reading of the Derveni theogony, though, hardly fits an eschatological or funereal context and we cannot be sure when it was read; in any case, it was not read as a sermon. Instead, one might think, in analogy to Near Eastern practices, of cases of illness, since Near Eastern epics of creation were also read during healing sessions or used on amulets for childbirth.[46] The poem, then, would not only 'recreate' the primeval order but also explain the present problems by reference to the 'original sin of mankind'. The reading seems to have started with a call for secrecy: 'I will speak for those entitled. Close your doors, ye profane' (Col. III.8). If we may compare the end of the so-called *Testament of Orpheus*, the ritual would also have closed with a call for secrecy.[47]

It is particularly interesting that Orphism had appropriated literacy, whereas normal civic religion continued without books. The circulation of books by Orpheus is already attested at the end of the fifth century, since the sophist Hippias (B 6 DK = *FGrH* 6 F4) claimed to have made selections from prose authors and poets like Homer and Orpheus, and his claim is born out by Plato, who demonstrably uses his 'Anthology'.[48] And in Euripides' *Hippolytus*

(953–4) Theseus urges the young hero to 'make a display with your food, and with Orpheus as master, revel (*bakcheue*), honouring the smoke of many books'. As the sophists were also negatively associated with books,[49] the remark shows the distrust of traditional, oral Athenian culture in literacy, even though at that very moment books were already rapidly becoming popular. Yet books were not everything for Orphics: the similarities and variances between the different Gold Leaves point to an oral rather than a written tradition in this respect.[50]

Did the initiates distinguish themselves also by a separate lifestyle?[51] According to Burkert, Orphic initiates did not eat meat, eggs and beans (which surely derives from the Pythagoreans), and neither did they drink wine. In fact, evidence for most of these taboos is late and extremely hard to find in classical times. Only vegetarianism is clearly attested by Euripides (*Hipp*. 952), Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1032) and Plato (*Laws* 782C).[52] Given the eschatological, Dionysiac context of these Leaves, it is interesting to note that on two Locrian reliefs of the first half of the fifth century Dionysos is pictured handing the kantharos to Persephone.[53] In fact, there is no testimony for early prohibitionists, and the mention of wine in the Pelinna Leaves (P 1, 2) now clearly argues against such a taboo.

We learn something else as well from the Derveni papyrus. Somewhat later the commentator declares:

> But all those [who hope to acquire knowledge] from someone who makes a craft of holy rites deserve to be wondered at and pitied – wondered at, because, thinking that they will know before they perform the rites, they go away after having performed them before they have known, without even asking further questions . . . and pitied because it is not enough for them to have spent their money in advance, but they also go off deprived of understanding as well.
>
> (Col. XX)

Evidently, the mysteries promised special knowledge to the potential initiates, but this did not come for free: the mention of pay suggests that in the time of the commentator Orphic/Bacchic initiators demanded money for their services. This fits with Plato's denigrating remarks about Orphic 'begging priests and soothsayers' at 'rich men's doors'. The reference to the Orphic clients' wealth is illustrated too by the gold of the Leaves, the impressive nature of the graves in Thurii and the bronze urns in which two of the Thessalian Leaves were found.[54] Herodotus' (4.78–80) mention of the Bacchic initiation of the Scythian king Skyles in Olbia points to the same direction.[55] Unfortunately, we do not know whether Orphics also assembled as groups outside the mysteries, but none of our admittedly lacunose information suggests this. To call them a church, as Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975) once did, is grossly mistaken.[56]

Among the initiates there were a considerable number of women.[57] The Gold Leaves of the Timpone Piccolo of Thurii (A 1–3) all use the feminine form of 'pure', and the Leaves of Hipponion (B 10) and Pelinna (P 1.2) were both found on a woman. This is not really surprising, since we know that women were also followers of Sabazius and Cybele, and until the conversion of Constantine they seem to have have constituted the majority of early Christians. This interest in cults outside the established civic religion fits a larger pattern in Western religiosity, where women always have been interested in those cults and movements which would allow them more scope in self-expression, such as the Cathars (Ch. 4.2), Mormons and New Age. In this respect it is highly interesting that Plato (*Meno* 81a) also mentions Orphic 'priestesses'.[58] Given that upper-class Greek women were hardly free to wander around on the streets, their religious interest could be satisfied best by other females. We may compare early Christianity, where a Syrian Church Order stipulated that a bishop sometimes did better to choose a deaconess as his assistant because she had better access to houses in which both Christians and non-Christians lived.[59]

Orphism, then, was an upper-class movement which paid special attention to the human individual, who was very much concerned with his own survival and salvation. This concentration on the individual also appears from its vegetarianism, which separated the true Orphic from the community-maintaining practice of sacrifice. Dodds has even called the Orphics Greek 'puritans'. Rightly so, considering their asceticism, sense of guilt and depreciation of the body, even though the Orphics did not reject the world at large, as would happen in later Gnosticism. However, Dodds was not the first to make a comparison with strict Protestants. In 1934 a former Senior Scholar of St Catharine's College Cambridge, J.R. Watmough (about whom I have been unable to find any information), published a small book, *Orphism*, which is hardly ever mentioned in post-war studies of Orphism. The aim of this book was, as the author states in the Preface, to draw 'the obvious analogy between ancient "Orphism" and modern Protestantism'. I find it hard to believe that Dodds never had come across this small book, which is still well worth reading.[60]

Until now we have used the term 'Orphic mysteries', but the continuing discovery of new Gold Leaves has made it finally clear that we are really speaking of Bacchic mysteries. Herodotus (2.81) already connects Orphica and Bacchica;[61] Euripides (*Hipp*. 954) lets Hippolytus use the verb *bakcheuein* for Orphic revels; Dionysos is combined with Orphik(oi?) on an Olbian tablet (above);[62] the Pelinna Leaves (P 1, 2) speak of Bakchios (above) and the Pherae Gold Leaf (below) gives as a *symbolon*, or 'password', *Andrikepaidithyrson*, a clear reference to the use of the thyrsos in Dionysiac ritual, whereas the first part of the password can hardly be separated from the name Erikepaios, a well-attested Orphic divine name,[63] which definitively shows the close connection between Orphism and Dionysiac cult.[64] However, we are still badly informed about

Bacchic mysteries in classical times and it may well be that we are dealing with a variety of mysteries, of which some assumed an Orphic colouring.[65]

Do we have any indications that Bacchic mysteries attracted people who were withdrawing from public life? Around 500 BC a philosopher of royal blood, Heraclitus, deposited a book with his philosophical thoughts in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (Diog. Laert. 9.6), which at the time was in the hands of the Persians. Unfortunately, his work has not been preserved except for some fragments. Now in recent years scholars have increasingly become aware that this process of preservation was not a matter of faithfully handing down the thoughts of the master. On the contrary, the texts of the pre-Socratics were continuously reshaped according to the ideas and purposes of those who cited them.[66] It is therefore questionable whether we will ever be able to reconstruct their thoughts. Fortunately, Clement of Alexandria has preserved a fragment and some context in which Heraclitus (B 14) threatens specific groups of people: 'nightwanderers: *magoi*, *bakchoi*, *lênai* [maenads], *mystai*'.[67] Although its authenticity has been disputed,[68] this is the first passage in Greek literature where we meet the ritual specialists of the Medes, whom we will meet again in our Chapter 4.

For Heraclitus, the *magoi* apparently belong to groups of people who practised nightly, presumably private, ecstatic religious rites. The last three terms used by Heraclitus are clearly also used by the worshippers themselves and there seems to be no reason to suppose otherwise regarding the *magoi*. Apparently, some of the priestly caste of the Medes had wandered from their homeland to other parts of the Persian Empire where they could earn money as 'technologists of the sacred'. Our classical texts, Herodotus in particular, leave no doubt that the *magoi* practised ritual functions among the Medes and Persians, even those which we nowadays would call magic.[69] We still find this ritual function in Greece in the Derveni papyrus, where the commentator mentions, without any denigration, that *magoi* perform certain ritual practices, such as libations of milk and water, and that *mystai* bring a preliminary sacrifice to the Eumenides according to the rites of the *magoi* (Col. VI).

It is clear that Heraclitus is opposed to these private operators and in the course of the fifth century we can see the tide turning. Originally these *magoi* were Medes, but after their migration to Greece they and their successors must have gradually assimilated and become associated with others outside the sphere of public religion, such as those performing malicious magical acts and necromancy (Ch. 6.2); in addition, they were opposed by doctors who tried, one suspects, to get rid of the competition. It is only at the end of the fifth century, then, that the Greeks started to have a concept resembling our 'magic', but the definitive development of the Western concept of magic would still take a long time to come.[70]

In addition to *magoi*, Heraclitus also mentions *bakchoi* and *lênai*, in other words, male and female followers of Dionysos, whereas the word *mystai* clearly suggests mysteries. Indeed, in the same fragment we find the word *mysteria* in

surviving Greek literature for the very first time. As Ephesus did not have any public mysteries comparable to those of Eleusis or Samothrace, Heraclitus must have meant private mysteries. This means that around 500 BC we already find mysteries and private rituals of followers of Dionysos Bakcheios, the Dionysos whose epithet points to ecstatic rituals wherever we have more detailed information.[71] Heraclitus would probably have worried less about these categories had they belonged to the lowest classes of the city. The status of these worshippers will therefore have corresponded with the observed upper-class orientation of Orphism and Pythagoreanism (section 1). Bacchic mysteries, then, must have served the needs of members of the aristocracy beyond the confines of Southern Italy.

Having looked at social and ritual aspects of Orphism, we now turn to its teachings, which seem to have concentrated on three areas: (1) the coming into being of the cosmos, gods and man, (2) eschatology and (3) the transmigration of the soul, a doctrine which was intricately bound up with the other two. Until 1982 we had only the evidence from later Orphic theogonies, but the publication of the Derveni papyrus has not only given us access to what is probably the earliest theogony, but also provided us with hard evidence with which we can judge later theogonies. For example, it is now clear that the earliest theogony started with Night, since the papyrus mentions 'Night-born heaven, who was the first king' (X.6). Such a beginning is supported by Night giving birth to an 'Orphic' egg in Aristophanes' *Birds*:

> In the beginning there was Chaos and Night and Black Erebus and broad Tartarus, and there was no Earth or Air or Heaven; and in the boundless recesses of Erebus, black-winged Night, first of all beings, brought forth a wind-egg, from which, as the seasons came round, there sprang Love the much-desired.
>
> (693–6, tr. A. Sommerstein, slightly revised)[72]

The fourth-century philosopher Eudemus also knows a theogony beginning with Night,[73] as is the case in the early theogonies of Musaeus (B 14 DK) and Epimenides (B 5 DK). The further genealogical development is not that easy to reconstruct from the fragmentary remains of the papyrus, and to combine the Derveni papyrus with Aristophanes 'Orphic' parody (above) and the later Orphic rhapsodies in order to reconstruct a genealogy, would presuppose the existence around 400 BC of still only one Orphic theogony. However, in the fourth century there already existed a theogony with Protogonos as first king,[74] and theogonies may already have started to proliferate at the end of the fifth century. What we can say positively, though, is that in the early Orphic theogonies Night, Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus and Dionysos, played the main roles.

The 'wind-egg' in Aristophanes' 'Orphic' probably derives from Egypt where the egg assumes a cosmic significance, since the function of the Orphic Gold Leaves as 'passports' and their dialogue form also seems to derive from

the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*.[75] On the other hand, Aristophanes is hardly a reliable witness for the presence of Eros and the egg, since these are not attested in any other early Orphic text.[76] Surely, it would be naive to read him as a historian of ancient philosophy *avant la lettre* instead of an author of comedies, and it may well be that he offers us here a *bricolage* of comparable poems: the egg is attested for Epimenides' theogony (B 5 DK), and Eros played a role in a poem ascribed to Orpheus, which was sung by the Attic Lykomids (Paus. 9.27.2).

Scepticism is also appropriate regarding Martin West's claim of Phoenician influence on the Orphic theogony, even though unmistakable similarities exist with Phoenician cosmogonies as reported by Eudemus and later Phoenician, authors. This was already noted by William Robertson Smith (1846–1894), in the second and third series of his famous lectures on *The Religion of the Semites* (1890–91), which have been published only in the last decade.[77] However, as the Italian scholar Casadio acutely observed in an important review of West's *The Orphic Poems*, Phoenician mythology, as we know it from the clay tablets of the second millennium BC, shows a completely different creation story. Consequently, the similarities probably show Greek influence on Phoenicia rather than the other way round.[78]

Unfortunately, the Derveni papyrus breaks off at the moment of Zeus' incest with his mother. In later versions Zeus mated with the product of this union, Persephone, and begot Dionysos, whom the Titans slew. The meaning of the episode is clarified by the climax of the Late Antique rhapsodic theogony, which dealt with the origin of mankind, as presumably in the oldest theogony: the murderers were in turn killed by Zeus' thunderbolt, but from the soot of their scorched deposits mankind was created: as descendants of the Titans, men were of tainted but divine origin. Can we assume that the Derveni theogony also contained this part of the later versions?[79] Not necessarily so, since the Derveni papyrus has now made it absolutely clear that later Orphic poems could extend the archaic theogony both at the beginning and at the end. However, Pindar (fr. 133 Maehler) already declares that the best roles in future incarnations will be for those 'from whom Persephone accepts compensation for ancient grief' – words which can hardly be separated from this myth.[80] Although other probable literary allusions exist,[81] we are extremely fortunate that recent discoveries are more explicit. An Orphic Gold Leaf, which was discovered in Thessalian Pelinna in the 1980s, tells us:

> Now you have died and now you have been born,[82] thrice blessed,
> on this day.
> Say to Persephone that Bacchios himself has released you.
> Bull, you jumped into the milk.
> Quickly, you jumped into the milk.
> Ram, you fell into the milk.
> You have wine as your fortunate honour.

> And an end awaits you under the earth such as the rest of the blessed have.
>
> (P 1)

Of the greatest interest is line 2, where the soul is instructed to tell Persephone that the god Dionysos himself has released him. Evidently, this was considered to be an extremely strong argument and it must mean that otherwise the deceased could hardly have faced Persephone. The most likely explanation surely is that the mother should have no objections to his coming, since the victim, her son, has already been forgiven. This forgiving action of Dionysos is probably illustrated on a recently published fourth-century Apulian volute crater of the Darius Painter: Dionysos joins hands with Hades, who is sitting opposite a standing Persephone, while the picture of the deceased at the other side of the vase strongly suggests an intervention of Dionysos on his behalf.[83] The reason why the son has been forgiven perhaps appears from a second Gold Leaf, which was found even more recently in Thessalian Pherae and equally dates from the fourth century (note 6):

> Passwords. For man-and-child-thyrsos. For man-and-child-thyrsos.
> Brimo. Brimo. Enter the holy meadow. For the initiate has paid the price.

Clearly, here we have again a reference to a guilt which had to be atoned for and which was atoned for – presumably by initiation – before the deceased could enter the abode of the blessed (below). The myth about the dismemberment of Dionysos, then, was certainly available in the fourth and probably already in the fifth century.

These Orphic teachings are quite remarkable, since they combine cosmogony, theogony and anthropogony into one genealogy, whereas on the whole Greek mythology shows little interest in the creation of man.[84] Here, on the other hand, man is suddenly promoted to the climax of creation. Moreover, we can observe that the diversity of the Greek pantheon has been reduced to a virtually monotheistic rule by Zeus, although Dionysos, whose position in the normative Greek pantheon was more 'eccentric', is also indispensable.[85]

One of the Thessalian Gold Leaves stresses this divine origin of man, as it lets the deceased claim: 'I am the son of Earth and of starry Heaven, but I am of Heavenly origin' (B 9). In various forms, this claim of divinity is recurrent in most Gold Leaves and must have been an important and desirable promise of the initiators (below). As with vegetarianism, this aspect of Orphism put it completely outside normal civic religion.[86]

The second important area of Orphism is eschatology.[87] From the fifth century onwards we can see in Pindar, Aristophanes and Plato a picture of the afterlife,[88] in which there is eternal sunlight and a strict separation between the good, who after death are received into a wonderful afterlife, and the bad

who have to wallow in the mud of Hades.[89] A beautiful meadow, which we also find in two Gold Leaves, one from South Italian Thurii (A 4) and, the other, as we just saw, from Thessalian Pherae, is another standard part of this afterlife. The picture is shared by Eleusinian and Orphic–Pythagorean eschatology, although Eleusis is clearly a somewhat later recipient: Orphic influence on Eleusis is not attested before Euripides' *Hypsipyle* and Aristophanes' *Frogs*.[90] Evidently, the convergence of Orphism and Eleusis developed further in the fourth century, as is demonstrated by the mention of Eleusinian Brimo in the most recently published Gold Leaf (above).

The third area is transmigration or reincarnation. In his history of Greek religion, of which he corrected the proofs virtually till the day of his death, the greatest classical scholar of the twentieth century, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1848–1931), stated in his familiar caustic manner: 'an Orphic doctrine of the soul should first be demonstrated'.[91] His scepticism is understandable, since explicit early testimonies are lacking. Yet there are a number of references, which taken together seem to point to an Orphic doctrine of reincarnation.[92] Plato attributes the doctrine to 'priests and priestesses who try to give an account for the functions of their activities' (*Meno* 81a), and in the *Laws* (870de) he associates it with 'initiations'. The latter passage makes it indeed very likely that Orphic mysteries are meant, since the Eleusinian Mysteries did not propagate the doctrine of reincarnation. And in the same fragment (133 Maehler) in which Pindar refers to the ancient grief, he also mentions a kind of reincarnation. It fits in with this interpretation that on one of a small group of bone-tablets from Olbia, which date from about 400 BC, the combination 'life – death – life: truth; Dio – Orphik(oi?)' is found and on another 'Dio(nysos?): (????) – truth: body – soul'.[93]

Orphism, then, must have promoted a view of the soul as being very different from the body. The distance from the Homeric idea of the soul of the living (Ch. 1.1) has taken on startling proportions in a dirge of Pindar's:

> In happy fate all die a death/that frees from care, and yet there still will linger behind/a living image of life,/for this alone has come from the gods.
> It sleeps while the limbs are active; but to those who sleep themselves /it reveals in myriad visions/the fateful approach/of adversities or delights.
>
> (fr. 131b Maehler)

Although the soul is called *eidôlon* and still described as a typical free-soul (Ch. 1.1), it is now considered divine: 'this alone . . . come from the gods.' In other words, an enormous revaluation of the soul has taken place. We do not know the audience in front of which Pindar sang these lines, but we are probably not very wrong when we suspect it to have had Orphic or Pythagorean sympathies. It cannot be surprising that with such an 'upgrading' of the soul the Orphics

formed the belief that the soul was imprisoned by the body. This is not a happy view, but still less unhappy than the Pythagorean and later Platonic idea of the body as 'tomb' of the soul (section 1): Orphic anthropology was only to a certain extent pessimistic.[94]

It seems, then, that Orphism was the product of Pythagorean influence on Bacchic mysteries in the first quarter of the fifth century, but despite their similarities both movements also displayed many differences.[95] Pythagoras belongs to history, Orpheus to myth. Pythagoreanism was the fruit of one man's activities, whereas Orphism originated from existing Bacchic mysteries. Pythagoreanism was a community without a text,[96] Orphism seems to have been all texts and little community. Pythagoreanism stressed the importance of ethics, Orphism of purifications. Pythagoreanism lacked the Orphic interest in mythology, even though Orphism was in this respect both backwards and progressive: incest was coupled with a 'monotheistic', Xenophanean role for Zeus. Pythagoras is closely associated with Apollo, whereas Orphism opted for Dionysos.[97] Finally, Pythagoreanism lacked the sense of guilt, which we find in Orphism and Empedocles, whose view of the world, though, was more pessimistic than that of Orphism. Indeed in some ways, Empedocles, with his vegetarianism and sense of guilt, was closer to Orphism than to Pythagoreanism, even though antiquity rarely associated him with Orpheus.[98]

3. The origins of the rise of the soul

But from where did Pythagoras derive his ideas about reincarnation and why did they become so popular? For a long time, influence from shamanism was the answer, if the wrong one as I hope to demonstrate in Chapter 3. Other scholars have suggested that Pythagoras eventually derived his views from ancient India,[99] but various reasons make this unlikely. First, it will be hard to prove that contacts between India and Greece existed around 500 BC, although a century later they are already demonstrable.[100] Secondly, the doctrine of transmigration is still relatively new in the early Upanishads and becomes universally accepted only in Buddhism and Jainism. Unfortunately, though, the date of the Buddha, the only fixed point of early Indian chronology, has recently become the focus of intense discussion. It used to be the accepted orthodoxy that the Buddha died within a few years of 480 BC, but recently many scholars have come out in favour of the 'short chronology', which puts him about a century later. If this redating proves to be correct, influence on Greece becomes even less likely. Thirdly, Indian reincarnation is closely connected with sacrifice. Even *if* the Greeks had borrowed ideas of the Indians, they had certainly changed them completely.[101]

If, then, the likelihood of influence from outside Greece is receding,[102] can we perhaps identify internal developments which may have played a role? I am fully aware that we have no explicit indications in this respect, and my proposals are therefore no more than speculations, if perhaps reasoned ones.

Let us return to Pythagoras. In our tradition his political activities are consistently connected with Croton, where he lived like a king and had a huge following of 300 youths.[103] It seems therefore more reasonable to think of his views about reincarnation as having been developed or publicised during his exile in Metapontum. This conclusion gains in probability if we consider the possible function of reincarnation in Greece at the turn of the Archaic period.

As we saw in Chapter 1, the ancient Greeks were traditionally much less concerned with personal survival than with social survival in the group. For various reasons, in the course of the Archaic Age this attitude started to change and interest rose in personal survival (Ch. 1.1). The Greeks devised various ways of meeting these new attitudes, such as developing new eschatological ideas as the Elysion (Ch. 1.2), and building grave monuments whose inscriptions reminded passers-by of its dead owners.[104] In a way, reincarnation can be seen as a more radical answer to this general development.

There is a second aspect to reincarnation as well: those who are reincarnated are singled out from those who are not. Pythagoras' loss of political power may well have been an extra stimulus for developing the doctrine of reincarnation, since it would guarantee a 'survival' beyond all previous possibilities. This possibility must have been attractive to his followers but also to the aristocracy in general, since its power and influence was in the process of diminishing in the late Archaic period. On the one hand, aristocrats started to lose their political power through developments, such as the Persian conquests, as will have been the case in Heraclitus' Ephesus, or the rise of tyrannies, as happened in Athens. On the other hand, the value system of Greece had been shifting for some time and aristocratic ideals had gradually come under fire, as is illustrated, for example, by the poetry of Theognis.[105] The *kleos aphthiton*, 'eternal fame', of the individual warrior was definitively shifting to the collective fame of the *polis*.[106] Such a loss of role and position cannot but have had a destabilising influence on some of the aristocrats, who must have been looking for new roles, new activities and a new legitimation. Pythagoreanism, of which we have seen the aristocratic nature, could well be considered as a response to what was, in effect, the beginning of a process of aristocratic marginalisation. The extreme number of rules must have been attractive to people who felt uncertain about their place in the world, as we know from modern sects. Moreover, the fulfilment of these rules may well have given the pupils of Pythagoras a new standing within the community.

Thirdly, the promise of reincarnation must have given the Pythagoreans a sense of importance, which could restore in a way, even if only in the area of religion, their special place in society. We may perhaps remind here of the thesis of Max Weber that the rise of religions of salvation, such as Christianity, were the consequence of a depoliticisation of the *Bildungsschichten*.[107]

Fourthly and finally, if Pythagoras' views cannot be separated from the religious and political developments of the late Archaic period, at the same time he could never have started to develop his ideas about transmigration,

if the *psychê* had not already been developing into man's self. Pythagoras' doctrine of reincarnation seized upon this new development. His views were taken over by Plato and via Plato would influence early Christian theologians (Ch. 5.2). The rise of the soul, then, was the fruit of a combination of political and psychological developments not in India or Egypt, but in Greece itself.[108]

3

TRAVELLING SOULS?

Greek shamanism reconsidered

In Chapter 2 we firmly tied the rise of the soul to Pythagoras. Yet Greek tradition also knew of males from the Archaic period, who went round purifying and healing but who, reputedly, could also fly, go into trances, perform feats of bilocation and let their soul travel. This activity of the soul was considered to be so foreign to Greek culture that more than forty years ago these 'miracle workers' were called 'Greek shamans' and their psychic excursions explained from contacts with Scythians (section 2). In my *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (1983) I raised a number of objections to this shamanistic interpretation, which have been widely accepted among both classical and non-classical scholars.[1] However, in 1989 the early modern historian Carlo Ginzburg dismissed my objections in his fascinating book *Ecstasies*; in 1993 a dissertation supervised by Walter Burkert on Scythian shamanism completely ignored the discussions about the use of the term 'shamanism'; in 1994 Peter Kingsley severely took me to task for even questioning 'the postulation of shamanic influences on the Greeks from the North and East', and in 1996 shamanism once again returned as explanation for the traditions about Abaris and Aristeas (sections 2 and 3) in an authoritative new classical encyclopedia.[2] Evidently, the tide is turning and the whole matter deserves to be looked at again. In this chapter, therefore, I will first sketch the historiography of the problem (section 1), then pay special attention to Meuli and Dodds, the pioneers of 'Greek shamanism' (section 2), thirdly look at the miracleworkers in more detail (section 3) and, finally, draw some conclusions about the postulated rise of the soul in the Archaic period (section 4).

1. **Historiography**

Shamanism came only very gradually to the attention of the Western world. In a learned study of the European discovery of shamanism Ginzburg has stated that it was only in 1704 that for the very first time the Dutch merchant Evert Ysbrants Ides registered the existence among the Siberian Tunguses of a '*schaman* or diabolical artist',[3] a word of apparently unknown etymology.[4] Ides

was the son of a Dutch immigrant in the Danish town of Glückstadt, in modern Schleswig-Holstein, who had founded a merchant house in Moscow.[5] Here, in 1691, he met Czar Peter the Great, who, the following year, entrusted him with a mission to the emperor Kangxi of China. After a trip of 18 months through Siberia and Mongolia, Ides and his mission of more than 250 noblemen, advisors, merchants and soldiers, reached Beijing in 1693. His main achievement was that every three years the Russians were allowed to do business in Beijing with a caravan of at most 200 members. Ides' own account was published posthumously in Dutch in 1704. He described the Tunguse shaman and provided the first illustration of a shaman in action.[6]

However, Ginzburg has overlooked that Ides' own description of the expedition had been pre-empted by the secretary of the embassy, Adam Brand, a merchant from Lübeck, who already published his own account in 1698. This report proved to be extremely popular in Western Europe and was already translated into English in the same year: *A Journal of an Embassy From Their Majesties John and Peter Alexowits, Emperors of Muscovy, &c, into China, Through the Provinces of Ustiugha, Siberia, Dauri, and the Great Tartary to Peking, the Capital City of the Chinese Empire. Performed by Everard Isbrand, Their Ambassador in the Years 1693, 1694, and 1695. Written by Adam Brand, Secretary of the Embassy . . .* (the title is a bibliographer's nightmare), shortly to be followed by Dutch (Tiel, 1699), French (Amsterdam, 1699) and Spanish (Madrid, 1701) translations. Brand mentioned that 'where five or six Tunguses live together . . . they keep a shaman, which means a kind of priest or magician'. In 1698, then, Europeans could read the word *shaman* for the very first time.[7]

After the expedition of Ides, Siberia increasingly drew scholarly attention and in the literature of the eighteenth century the shaman became a familiar figure.[8] It was only now that scholars could look at the well-known passages in Herodotus about the Scythians, which we will discuss in a moment, with fresh eyes. In 1712 the famous German geographer Engelbert Kämpfer (1651–1716) identified the plants that the Scythians used for their purification as hashish.[9] And in 1802 a Polish count, Jan Potocki (1761–1815), identified the Scythian seers with 'les Schamanes de la Sibérie', soon to be followed by the classical scholar Christian August Lobeck (1781–1860), who now called the ancient miracleworkers (section 3) 'sciamani'.[10] Yet it would take until the end of the nineteenth century before shamans would again attract the attention of classicists. Then two giants of German *Altertumswissenschaft*, Erwin Rohde (1845–98) and Hermann Diels (1848–1922), compared reports about Dionysiac ecstasy and the *Jenseitsreise* of Parmenides, respectively, with those about shamans, without, however, claiming more than a phenomenological resemblance. This is particularly clear in the case of Diels who explicitly rejected historical connections between Greece and the shamanistic cultures.[11] It is probably from Rohde's classic work *Psyche* that a young Swiss who in 1911–12 followed lectures in Munich, amongst others with Rohde's

biographer Otto Crusius (1857–1918),[12] first learned about shamanism – namely Karl Meuli.[13]

2. Meuli and Dodds

Meuli (1891–1968) was both a professor extraordinarius of the University of Basel (and since 1942 ordinarius) in Classics and Folklore and a teacher of Classics at the local Humanistisches Gymnasium and continued in this combination until his retirement in 1957. He was an enormously learned classicist, whose oeuvre stands at the crossroads of classics, folklore, ethnology, psychology and the history of religion. His work often started from a passage in a classical author and then reached out into regions usually not visited by Hellenists, in particular the nomadic and shamanistic cultures of Central Asia and Siberia. Meuli was also fascinated – obsessed would not be the wrong word – with mourning customs and ideas about the dead, and this interest led him in the early 1920s to the funeral customs of the Scythians as described by Herodotus in a famous passage, which we will quote shortly. In search of possible explanations Meuli stumbled on shamanism and in particular became interested in the shaman's journey into the Beyond, since in his own dissertation on the Argonauts and the *Odyssey* he had reached the conclusion that the oldest version of the Argonautic epic also treated of a journey into the Beyond.[14]

The fascination with shamanism found its expression in 1935, when Meuli published his seminal article 'Scythica'.[15] Here a classical scholar analysed in detail, and with assured mastery of the relevant literature,[16] Herodotus' remarks about Scythian funerals and seers in the light of shamanism and subsequently he postulated a Scythian background for two archaic miracle workers, Aristeas and Abaris. But how did Meuli arrive at this result?

Let us take a close look at his method, starting with one of his key texts, Herodotus 4.73.2–75.2:

> After a burial the Scythians clean themselves in the following manner: having cleansed and rinsed their heads they go about their bodies in the following manner: on a framework of three sticks, meeting at the top they stretch pieces of woollen felt, taking care to get the joins as perfect as they can, and inside this little tent they throw redhot stones in a censer in the middle of the sticks and the felt.
>
> There grows hemp (*kannabis*) in Scythia, a plant resembling flax, but much coarser and taller. It grows wild as well as under cultivation, and the Thracians make clothes from it very like linen ones – indeed, one must have much experience in these matters to be able to distinguish between the two, and anybody who has never seen a piece of cloth made of hemp, will suppose it to be of linen.
>
> The Scythians, then, take the seed of the hemp, creep into the tent,

> and throw the seed on to the hot stones. Thrown on the fire it begins to smoke, giving off a vapour unsurpassed by any Greek vapour-bath. The Scythians enjoy it and howl with pleasure.
>
> (tr. Aubrey de Sélincourt, modified)

This is a very important description of *cannabis* which perfectly fits the facts. Hemp is indeed much taller than flax and can grow up to 15 feet high (flax only 3–4 feet high). People with a wider choice of fibres prefer linen for clothing and hemp for ropes and sails, since the latter is coarser. Herodotus' detailed description strongly suggests that *cannabis sativa* was still fairly unknown and spread from Thrace to the Greek world; virtually at the same time it may have also reached Greece from the East, since the word *qu-nu-bu* starts to appear only in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts.[17]

This is all very interesting for botanical specialists, but where are the shamans in this passage? To arrive at his shamanistic interpretation, Meuli adduced a scene from the classic description of Siberia by Wilhelm Radloff, in which during a purification ceremony a shaman guided a soul of a recently deceased woman to the underworld whereby the singing of the shaman reached its climax in wild shouting ('wildes Schreien').[18] Now Meuli was too honest a scholar not to observe that in Herodotus' description all classic characteristics of shamanism are lacking; there is no mention of spirits and not even of a drum, an indispensable part of Siberian shamanism.[19] He therefore suggested that the Scythians did not yet have professional shamans but knew an older stage of shamanism, family shamanism ('Familien-Schamanismus'), which could still be observed in modern days among palaeo-Siberian peoples, such as the Goldi, Votyak and Ostyak. However, among all these tribes hereditary shamanism is well attested and the conclusion seems therefore justified that Meuli over-interpreted this Herodotean passage.[20]

Moreover, Meuli could hardly have known that in 1929 Russian archaeologists had started important excavations in the Pazyryk valley in the Altai, some 200 kilometres North of the Chinese border and only 150 kilometres West of Mongolia. Here they uncovered a number of sixth- and fifth-century tumulus-shaped graves, kurgans, in which they found the bodies of Scythian chiefs with their favourite wives or concubines. Despite their isolated geographical position, these nomads had extensive commercial relations, witness the presence in their graves of Chinese mirrors, Iranian carpets, and cowrie shells from the coasts of the Indian Ocean.[21] Hardly surprisingly, the graves had already been plundered in antiquity, but the robbers were interested only in gold, silver and metal, and they left many objects which have been perfectly preserved due to the permafrost. In 1949 the excavators discovered in one of the graves two bundles of six sticks which had been tied together at the end and covered with felt and leather, respectively, to make them into tents. A pouch with hemp seeds was tied to one of them and underneath the small tents (only about 1.20 metres high) there were two small bronze censers – one

square, the other round – which were filled with stones and contained partly carbonised hemp seeds. These findings clearly corroborate Herodotus, but they hardly favour Meuli's shamanistic thesis, since the presence of two censers demonstrate that both the chief and his female partner used hashish in daily life.[22]

Curiously, the use of hemp for ecstatic purposes remained limited to the Scythians and the peoples North of Greece. Herodotus (1.202) also relates that the Massagetae near the Caspian sea used fruit of a certain tree, which they threw on the fire and which made them drunk – probably a garbled reference to the use of cannabis, which can reach great heights. The only other possible reference is never mentioned in the relevant literature. According to a Greek dictionary in Roman times, the *Antiatticista*,[23] which recorded words acceptable to use by those who wanted to write correct Greek, Sophocles mentioned the word *kannabis* in his tragedy *Thamyras* (F 243 Radt). This drama about the defeat of the Thracian singer Thamyras in a singing match against the Muses contains references to ecstatic dancing (F 240, 245),[24] but unfortunately we can hardly be certain about a single scene, except that apparently Thamyras broke his lyre after his defeat (F 244). As (1) the dictionary explicitly mentions that the word *kannabis* occurred in Herodotus and Sophocles, (2) the latter's debt to Herodotean ethnography is considerable[25] and (3) the *Antiatticista* would hardly select *kannabis* as a routine reference for clothing,[26] the conclusion seems reasonable that Sophocles somehow connected the Thracian Thamyras with an ecstatic use of cannabis.[27] It fits in with this conclusion that Posidonius mentions Thracian 'smoke-walkers' (*kapnobatai*) and that Pomponius Mela reports the use of certain seeds by the Thracians which results in a *similis ebrietati hilaritas*,[28] seeds which my learned countryman Isaac Vossius (1618–89), who was still unacquainted with hashish, had interpreted as tobacco.[29] The Greeks themselves used cannabis only for medicine and cooking, as sometimes still happened in the Middle Ages,[30] and it would last to the crusades before Western Europe would learn again about its ecstatic use through a Muslim sect, whose use of hashish gave them a name which is still feared: the Assassins.[31]

When we now return to the Scythian use of cannabis after a funeral, we observe that among American Indians vapour-baths and the use of narcotics are well attested as traditional means of purification.[32] The same, then, may well have been the case among the Scythians. I had already written these lines, when I noticed that the same suggestion had been made by one of the earliest scholars, who constantly compared Red Indian customs to those of the ancient Greeks, Father Joseph François Lafitau (1681–1746), who worked in Canada for many years as a Jesuit missionary. Even though he interpreted the classical references to hashish as tobacco, he already compared Herodotus' report about sweating Scythians to Indian use of sweat baths for purification purposes and, in a way, pre-empted Meuli and Dodds by comparing Indian healing priests to Orpheus (below).[33]

Meuli's second argument for the existence of Scythian shamanism focused on a special kind of Scythians, the Enarees.[34] According to Herodotus (1.105), the Scythians were punished with the 'female disease', from which their descendants are still suffering, after robbing the temple of Aphrodite, probably the Greek interpretation of Astarte,[35] in Ascalon.[36] The Enarees return later as seers, who prophesy in a manner different from other Scythian seers.[37] We learn more about them and their disease from the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* (*ca.* 400 BC), which mentions that 'the rich Scythians become impotent and perform women's tasks on an equal footing with them and talk in the same way. Such men they call Anarieis' (22).[38] Whereas Herodotus provides a more traditional, religious explanation, since the Greeks regularly ascribed aberrant sexual behaviour to the wrath of Aphrodite, as for example in the case of the Lemnian women,[39] the enlightened author of *Airs* explains this strange behaviour from too much horse-riding and wearing trousers, in other words from behaving in a very un-Greek manner.[40]

It is always difficult to know whether Greek authors are reporting an ethnographic 'fact' or interpreting other cultures to their own prejudices and stereotypes. However, in this case we are fortunate that around 1800, a visitor to the Nogay tribe in the Caucasus reported the existence of cross-dressing eunuchs, whose condition arose after a serious illness or because of old age:

> When an incurable debility succeeds to sickness, or old age advances, the skin of the whole body becomes extraordinarily wrinkled; the few hairs of the beard fall off, and he appears perfectly like a woman. He becomes incapable of conjugal duties, and his senses and actions have lost every thing manly. In this situation he must renounce all male society; he lives with the women; he dresses like them; and one might wager a thousand to one, that he was really an old woman, and certainly a most ugly one![41]

Apparently, these males were suffering from some chronic, physical disease, which has recently been persuasively interpreted as haemochromatosis. This disease can culminate in total impotence and eunuchism as the result of a genetically determined defect in the mechanism controlling the absorption of iron. And precisely the regions to the north and east of the Black Sea, in what is now Russia and the Ukraine, have very rich iron deposits.[42] If this disease is indeed in the background of Herodotus' description, as subsequent travellers who knew their Herodotus claimed,[43] the Scythian seers must have used their disease to make the most of their dramatic change in life.

Meuli, on the other hand, compared the Scythian seers with those shamans who dress up as women and concluded that this proved 'the existence of an authentic shamanism. In addition to a primitive family shamanism, which we may assume, there existed a powerful and feared class of professional shamans; they reached their ecstasy via the vapour-bath and the intoxicating smoke of

hashish.' I have quoted Meuli here, since all of this is clearly very wrong. First, as Meuli himself observed, in our evidence transvestite shamans are virtually restricted to the most Eastern groups of palaeo-Siberians, the Chuckchee, Kamchadal and Koryak.[44] Secondly, Meuli has to assume the co-existence of an older family shamanism with a younger professional shamanism. In other words, virtually every Scythian must have been a shaman. Thirdly, as is clear from my quote, by combining the two Herodotean passages about the funeral and the Enarees Meuli makes the latter into ecstatic shamans, whereas Herodotus only describes them as seers. I conclude, therefore, that Meuli has not proven the existence of Scythian shamanism.[45]

Meuli himself was of course of a different opinion and he now proceeded to link this non-existent Scythian shamanism with two figures, Aristeas and Abaris, whom Herodotus connected with the area North of Greece, and who, for that reason, always have been privileged in studies of 'Greek shamanism'. A poem which purported to be written by Aristeas told of journeys to fabulous peoples and of gold-guarding griffins fighting with the one-eyed Arimaspi.[46] Meuli interprets the griffins as deriving from North-Asiatic mythical figures,[47] but this is hardly likely. In addition to the fact that the Scythian griffin originated in the Ancient Near East,[48] the passage surely is a double of Herodotus' report about gold-guarding ants in the Bactrian desert. This story is well attested in ancient Indian sources, and in modern times parallels have been recorded in Tibet and Mongolia. It probably derives from Dardistan where the burrowing of marmots in the gold-bearing soil was regularly exploited.[49] However, Herodotus explicitly ascribes this story to the Persians, and as the motif of the gold-guarding griffins is absent from Central Asiatic mythology the conclusion seems not improper that Aristeas located the gold-guarding griffins in the North, although they were derived from the East, where they were also located by 'Aeschylus' (*PV* 803–9) and Ktesias (*FGrH* 688 F 45h).

Meuli's second Scythian miracleworker is Abaris, of whom Herodotus relates that he was a 'supposed Hyperborean, who carried an arrow over the whole world without taking any food' (4.36). It is important to notice that in the oldest layers of our tradition (Herodotus, Lycurgus and, probably, Aristotle) Abaris is not yet of Scythian origin but is only reported to come from the mythical Hyperboreans carrying an arrow.[50] It is only a pupil of Aristotle, Heraclides Ponticus, and later authors who make him into a Scythian, probably in analogy to the wise Scythian king Anacharsis, and let him fly on the arrow.[51] According to Meuli, the earliest tradition was a rationalistic expurgation, but, on the contrary, it seems historically more responsible to consider the flying to be a later novellistic 'Ausschmückung der Sage'.[52] Now Meuli explained the Hyperborean Apollo not from Scythian traditions, but from certain Finno-Ugrian (*nota bene*: non-Iranian) peoples, the Vogul and the Ostyak, for whose beliefs he does not know of any other Siberian parallels. These peoples worship a Heavenly Father, who lives in a golden house, whom Meuli not only identified as the ultimate source for the legend of Pythagoras'

golden thigh (*sic*) but also with the Scythian Apollo Oitosyros (Her. 4.59), and he concluded that the Abaris legend has its roots in the representations of authentic, palaeo-Scythian belief. However, it should be clear from my summary of his argument that Meuli did not adduce any proof at all for a Scythian origin of Abaris nor for the existence of a Scythian shamanism;[53] neither has the existence of Iranian shamanism in historical time been demonstrated. Even its most ardent contemporary advocate can only adduce visionary journeys of a relatively late date, not earlier than those by the famous *magos* Kirdir in the third century AD, as proof of Iranian shamanism – visions which probably have been influenced by descriptions of those in Hellenistic, Jewish and Christian sources.[54]

Still, demonstrating the existence of Scythian shamanism was not the ultimate aim of Meuli's article. Having discussed Aristeas and Abaris he concluded his article with a paragraph about the origins of Greek epic poetry, which starts with another sleight of hand: 'The existence of Scythian shamanistic poetry, which anyway was to be assumed in such a developed shamanism, may now be considered proven'.[55] From this mistaken starting point Meuli proceeded to deduce a shamanistic origin for Greek epic: the ultimate explanation of the subject of his dissertation. However, the greatest authority on Greek religion in the middle of this century, Martin Nilsson (1874–1967), immediately rejected the idea – and rightly so.[56] In Greek mythology it is only the myth about Heracles' fight with Geryon in which we may find a shamanistic pattern,[57] but the background of the myths of the Argonauts, the Calydonian Hunt, and the Trojan War lies unmistakably in rites of initiation.[58]

Meuli returned to shamanism and the Greeks twice. In a 1940 introduction to a selection from the national Finnish epic, the *Kalevala*, he compared the shaman-like songs of its hero Väinämöinen to those of Orpheus, whose powerful singing he explained from his background in the archaic hunting culture of the Thracians. Even more explicitly he proposed this shamanistic interpretation of Orpheus in a paper read in 1950, which was published only in 1975, although it had escaped Meuli that a comparison between Orpheus and shaman-like Lapplanders had already been made by a notable former rector of the university of Uppsala, Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702), around 1700. Meuli's hope to present this suggestion in a more detailed manner was never fulfilled.[59]

Despite the absence of any convincing evidence, then, the persuasive rhetoric of Meuli, who always worked long at the composition of his studies, and his impressive erudition were sufficient to convince many a reputable scholar, in particular the Regius Professor of Greek of Oxford, E. R. Dodds (1893–1979).[60] Unlike Meuli, who after his dissertation virtually only published articles, Dodds invested most of his scholarly time in books, of which three – his commentary on Euripides' *Bacchae* (1944), *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) and *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety* (1965) – are still being reprinted and translated, thus making him the most influential English

classicist of the twentieth century in international terms. Dodds wrote with literary skill and without jargon. As a result, his works are still attractive to read, even though his regular use of psychoanalytic insights does not wear well, as his successor as Regius Professor, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, rightly observed.[61]

In the course of the years, the study of human irrationality in all its manifestations had become the dominant centre of Dodds' life's interest: in 1961–3 he even became the president of the English Society for Psychical Research.[62] One may also speculate that this interest helped Dodds to become Regius Professor in 1936, since his predecessor and teacher, Gilbert Murray (1866–1957), shared this interest in psychic phenomena and even experimented in telepathy. So when in 1949 Dodds was invited to take up the most prestigious Visiting Chair in Classics, the Sather Professorship in Berkeley, a subject was not hard to choose. In six months he had prepared his lectures and in 1951 the result appeared as *The Greeks and the Irrational*.[63]

Dodds' most important sources of inspiration were Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and, especially, Erich Fromm's (1900–80) study *The Fear of Freedom* (New York, 1941), which is also the title of Dodds' last chapter. With them he shared the belief that the irrational in mankind is knowable and with Fromm he saw human history as an evolutionary process passing from irrationality to rationality. In his book Dodds sketched a transition within Greek society from shame culture to guilt culture, which he connected with a new relationship between body and soul, such as could be observed, according to him, in the course of the archaic age. In contrast to Homer, later texts start to speak of a divine character of the soul, which can now can speak to its owner with a voice of its own. 'By crediting man with an occult self of divine origin, and thus setting soul and body at odds, it introduced into European culture a new interpretation of human existence, the interpretation we call puritanical' (p. 139). It is this new development which Dodds then attempted to explain by an influence from the shamanistic aspects of Scythian culture, as postulated by Meuli.

In some ways, though, Dodds was much bolder than Meuli, since he postulated a shamanistic background not only for Aristeas and Abaris, but also for Epimenides, Pythagoras, Empedocles and, clearly independently of Meuli, Orpheus. He thus constructed a 'tentative line of spiritual descent which starts in Scythia, crosses the Hellespont into Asiatic Greece, is perhaps combined with some remnants of Minoan tradition surviving in Crete, emigrates to the Far West with Pythagoras, and has its last outstanding representative in the Sicilian Empedocles' (p. 146). These shamanistic figures, according to Dodds, 'had *some influence* (italics mine) on the new and revolutionary conception of the relation between body and soul which appears at the end of the archaic age' (p. 142). In this quotation Dodds still seems to waver, since there were apparently also other influences to be taken into account. However, ten pages on, all doubts have disappeared: 'Any guilt-culture will, I suppose, provide a soil favourable to the growth of puritanism,

since it creates an unconscious need for self-punishment which puritanism gratifies. But in Greece it was, apparently, the impact of shamanistic beliefs which set the process going' (p. 152).

Dodds, then, had used shamanism for totally different purposes than Meuli. It remains his great merit that he connected the new ideas about the soul with ritual practices and oral traditions, even though he had accepted – lock, stock and barrel – Meuli's postulated Scythian influence, as have Walter Burkert and Carlo Ginzburg in the case of Aristeas and Abaris.[64] However, as his basis – the presupposed Scythian shamanism – is unsound and scholarship has since rejected his views about the transition from shame culture into guilt culture,[65] we are still left with the question as to how *we* then analyse the ecstatics of the Archaic period. Let us look once again at those figures who are usually quoted in connection with Greek 'shamanism'.

3. **Greek 'shamans'**

Dodds brought a variety of Greek figures into connection with shamanism: Orpheus, Aristeas and Abaris, Hermotimos of Klazomenai, the Cretan Epimenides, Pythagoras and the Sicilian Empedocles, to which Burkert has added the Crotoniates Phormio and Leonymus. This group constitutes a heterogeneous collection of miracleworkers, whose origins, functions and traditions must be differentiated in order to reach a proper understanding of their positions in the Archaic period. In my analysis of the early Greek concept of the soul I have studied those motifs which have been considered as deriving from shamanism, such as the flight of the soul, bilocation and trance.[66] Here I will take into account the results of my earlier study, but concentrate on the dates and functions of the so-called 'shamans'. In this way it might be established when psychic excursions are first attested in Greece. In this investigation I will pay particular attention to the transmission of the traditions about 'shamans', since no scholar seems to have wondered about the channels along which our knowledge of them has been handed down and what distorting influences these may have exerted. It is only in such a way that we can gain a proper picture of the traditions about the activities of their souls.

The oldest figure of those connected with 'shamanism' by Dodds is Orpheus, who, unlike the others, is never included in ancient catalogues of 'shamans';[67] evidently, the modern 'shamanistic' perception of Orpheus was not shared by ancient scholars. In order to support his argument Dodds argued that Orpheus 'combined the professions of poet, magician, religious teacher, and oracle-giver'; with his music he summoned birds and beasts to listen to him, and he recovered a stolen soul.[68] These arguments are not very persuasive. To start with, in the oldest tradition Orpheus is neither a poet nor a magician nor a religious teacher. He is first and foremost a musician, and even the story about his wife Eurydice was originally intended to show the power of his music, not to illustrate a shamanistic power over the dead. Moreover, Eurydice

was not a stolen soul, neither did Orpheus go into trance to carry her back: clearly, Dodds intentionally but wrongly portrayed his activity shamanistic as fully as possible.[69]

The oldest historical figure is Epimenides from Crete, where a third-century homonym has recently turned up in an inscription.[70] He was a relatively shadowy figure until at the end of the nineteenth century his name appeared in the papyrus which gave us most of Aristotle's *Athenaion Politeia* and which established him as a purifier at the turn of the seventh century BC.[71] Stories about him were already circulating in the time of Xenophanes (B 20 DK) – hardly a century later. He was reputed to have lived an extremely long life and never to have slept, although competing traditions claimed that he had slept for over seven or 50 years.[72] Other traditions mention that he always searched for roots (presumably for magical practices) and never ate or only very small portions of a magical food, *alimon*, which he preserved in an ox's hoof. The practice is compared by Burkert with Akkadian practices and thus points to the East rather than the North. Near Eastern influence, particularly in Crete, is hardly surprising since we know from the Old Testament that the Philistines were closely connected with Crete.[73] Considering the close connection of Nymphs with ecstasy and the explicit connection of Epimenides with ecstatic prophecy by Cicero (Epimenides *FGrH* 457 F 8c), it looks significant that the name of his mother is given as the Nymph Blaste (Suda s.v.), that according to a certain Demetrius (DL 1.114) he had received his special food from the Nymphs, and that Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 69) mentions that he once was building a temple for the Nymphs when he was rebuked by a heavenly voice calling out: 'Epimenides, not to the Nymphs but to Zeus!'[74]

Epimenides, then, clearly shows signs of certain ascetic and ecstatic practices, but what about his soul? The notice in the *Suda* that 'as often as he wanted, his soul left and entered his body', is, as Dodds noticed, probably taken from a notice about Aristeas and certainly not original.[75] Admittedly, Diogenes Laertius (1.114) mentions a series of rebirths, but he is unable to adduce ancient authorities, his wording excludes a quotation from Epimenides himself, and the notice probably derives from the increasing absorption of Epimenides into the Pythagoras legend.[76] In other words, it is unlikely that Epimenides himself practised psychic excursions.

Purifiers were a well-known phenomenon in the Archaic period and Crete in particular was renowned in this respect.[77] In addition to Epimenides, in 670 the Cretan Thaletas delivered Sparta from a plague, Apollo went to Crete to be purified from the blood of the dragon he had killed, and late Orphics still prescribed that purifying materials should come from Crete.[78] The prominence of Crete in purification probably derives from its geographical position. It is a recurring feature of magicians and medicine men that they are not part of the native population but belong to an adjacent people. Within Greece, we find a position comparable to that of Crete in the somewhat later traditions concerning Thessalian witches: instead of those to the South of Greece, it was

now those in the far North who were out of the ordinary and apparently capitalised on their reputation.[79]

We already noticed that the traditions about Abaris flying on his arrow are late. Various sources place him around the time of Croesus, and there seems to be no reason strongly to doubt this chronology. Abaris' main activity was as a purifier and *mantis* in the case of the plague. In addition to a divine legitimation – he claimed to be a priest of Hyperborean Apollo – he presumably practised a kind of fasting, since according to Herodotus (4.36) he abstained from eating. And like Epimenides, Abaris became drawn into the Pythagorean orbit: later traditions related that he had given his arrow to the Master himself.[80]

In the first half of the sixth century we also find two figures, Phormio and Leonymus, who seem to have been connected with Sparta before becoming associated with Pythagorean Croton. Both figures are reported to have made ecstatic journeys in order to be healed, but it is important for us to note that in neither case a journey of the soul is mentioned, but both are said to have travelled in the body.[81]

So when do psychic excursions become firmly attested? Our oldest example seems to be Aristeas of Proconnesus, the present island of Marmara. Except for one or two anecdotes, ancient tradition knew only the name of his father, Kaystrobios (a typically Ionian name)[82] and his epic, the *Arimaspeia*. Evidently, Herodotus (4.13–15) thought of Aristeas as belonging to the first generations of colonists, but more recent investigations have persuasively put Aristeas later in the second half of the sixth century.[83]

According to Herodotus (4.14), Aristeas told how he had 'taken by Apollo' (*phoebolamptos*) travelled to the Issedones. The expression, which is unique, suggests a kind of ecstasy but not a psychic excursion, since Herodotus reports nothing about his soul but relates that Aristeas' body had miraculously disappeared:[84] evidently, Aristeas' experience still resembled the way Phormio and Leonymus imagined their journey, viz. in person.[85] Herodotus (4.15) continues with telling that 200 years later Aristeas appeared in Metapontum, the city where Pythagoras had died. Here he ordered an altar for Apollo and an adjacent statue for himself, the place of which now has been probably identified by archaeologists.[86] Aristeas also told the Metapontines that he had accompanied the god in the shape of a raven. The bird returns in Pliny (*NH* 7.174), who mentions that Aristeas' soul left his mouth in the shape of a raven.[87] This is obviously not a very credible account and seems to combine Herodotus' raven with another account about psychic excursions, which clearly originated only after Herodotus. As was the case with Epimenides, the only other more extensive notice in this respect is found in the *Suda* (s.v.), where the wording ('they say that his soul, whenever he wanted, left and returned') is again, as Burkert observed, hardly original.[88]

This leaves us only one other possible early example of a psychic excursion in the archaic period. It was told of Hermotimos of Klazomenai that his soul

was absent for many years and in different places foretold future events. Eventually, it would return into the body 'as into a sheath'. In the end his wife betrayed him and his enemies burned his 'stiff body' in order to prevent the return of his soul. The inhabitants of Klazomenai felt they had to atone for this crime and they founded a sanctuary for the heroised Hermotimos from which women, naturally, are excluded 'till the present day'.[89]

Curiously, hardly any scholar seems to have wondered about the antiquity of this story. The only exception is Nilsson who, referring to the sources Pliny and Plutarch, has suggested that the story was a product of their times. And indeed, Hermotimos' story can hardly be very old. Its aetiological character is obvious; the story type of burning a body in order to prevent the return of the soul can be parallelled in India, and the exclusion of women looks like a calque on traditions about Orpheus, whose sanctuary was also forbidden to women because of his death at their hands.[90] In fact, we have no comparable case of a heroic cult in the Archaic period, when the heroisation of private persons seems to have been limited to founders of colonies and famous athletes.[91] Now Aristotle mentions that Hermotimos had a theory of the *nous* before Anaxagoras. We do not know what this implies, but somehow this tradition may have stimulated the development of the legend.[92] Although the young Aristotle was greatly interested in paranormal matters, and, as an Arabic source tells us, in his early dialogue *Eudemos* wrote about a Greek king whose soul was caught up in ecstasy while his body remained inanimate, he is not likely to have invented the story.[93] On the other hand, Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato but with some Peripatetic leanings, mentions that Hermotimos was a reincarnation of Pythagoras (fr. 89 Wehrli^2) and this surely presupposes our story, just as the name of Heraclides' fictitious character Empedotimos of Syracuse, who was the protagonist of a lost dialogue on the soul or Hades, seems to be a conflation of the names of Empedocles and Hermotimos.[94] If anyone, the inventive Heraclides with his preference for fantastic stories must have been the origin of the legend of the seer with his psychic excursion.

4. Conclusion

What then have we learned? The so-called Greek 'shamans' appear to be a mixed group, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the existence of these purifiers and seers, who in the late Archaic period practised fasting and, probably, certain techniques of ecstasy. Modern scholars have erroneously ascribed Scythian and shamanistic influences to these figures, since they have been led astray by notices about psychic excursions, which proved to be later interpretations, not contemporary reports. In various recent publications my compatriot Jaap Mansfeld has stressed the fact that we virtually always read the pre-Socratics through the distorting prisms of later philosophical schools.[95] The same observation may now be made regarding the traditions of the Archaic miracleworkers, who fascinated the Greek imagination, as is also

demonstrated by the use that pseudepigraphers made of Orpheus, Epimenides, Aristeas, and Abaris as figureheads for their *Theogonies*.[96] For different reasons, later philosophical schools in Greece – the Pythagoreans (Epimenides, Aristeas, Abaris, Phormio, Leonymus) in particular, but also the Platonists (Hermotimos, Abaris) and Peripatetics (Hermotimos) – appropriated these persons, kept the stories about them alive, and reinterpreted them in the course of the centuries by adapting them to their own, later doctrines about the soul.[97] Evidently, in the Archaic period legends still only told of miraculous movements in the body by these purifying seers: the soul rises only to prominence with Pythagoras, as we saw in Chapter 2. The resulting transformations of their traditions make that we see these figures only 'through a glass darkly', except for one thing which we can now see very clearly: they were no shamans and they practised no psychic excursions.[98]

4

THE RESURRECTION FROM ZOROASTER TO LATE ANTIQUITY

Having looked at the rise of interest in the soul, it is now time to turn towards the body. Undoubtedly, the most spectacular religious doctrine regarding the body is resurrection. For Greeks and Romans this was an unthinkable idea. The terse observation of a character in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (648) that 'once a man has died, there is no resurrection',[1] reflected a widely held feeling, and Christian apologists and theologians would spend an enormous amount of energy in explaining and defending this central part of their religion, beginning with Luke's (*Acts* 17) presentation of Paul's oration before the Areopagus in which the resurrection of Jesus guarantees, so to speak, the resurrection of us all.[2] Yet, the resurrection has been an integral part of Christian doctrine ever since the Church began formulating the creed in compact form in the so-called *symbola* (the same word the Orphics used for their 'passports' to the underworld: Ch. 2.2).[3] Naturally, in such a confession of faith, doubts and nuances yield to confident formulations. However, a historian of religion, whether a Christian or not, has the duty to go beyond such *symbola* in order to investigate the origins and development of this central Christian doctrine.

Although the problem of the resurrection of the dead has always attracted scholars, the contemporary student is especially fortunate in that he can enter into discussion with some recent works of the highest quality. In 1991 a historian of religion, Jonathan Z. Smith of Chicago, published a profound investigation of modern scholarly theories regarding the unique or, as he would rather say, not so unique position of early Christianity and its relationship to traditions involving the so-called 'dying and rising' gods of Late Antiquity.[4] In 1993 a French research fellow of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Emile Puech, published a huge study of over 900 pages on Essene belief in the afterlife together with a thorough survey of their Jewish predecessors and early Christian successors.[5] And in 1995 a well-known American feminist historian of the Middle Ages, Caroline Walker Bynum, brought out a study focusing on the metaphors used in early Christian and Medieval times to describe the resurrection.[6] Obviously, one chapter cannot survey all the evidence Puech mustered in his massive work,

but it may be possible, I hope, to say something of interest on two topics. First, we will attempt to shed some light on the roots of Christian belief by taking a closer look at beliefs concerning resurrection of the dead in Qumran, among the Essenes (section 2), and in Zoroastrian literature (section 3). Secondly, we will look at the ways in which the Gnostics and late antique mysteries viewed resurrection of the dead (section 4). Let us start, however, with a brief look at the *New Testament*.

1. The resurrection in the New Testament

Any historical investigation into the earliest roots of Christian belief is greatly hampered by the fact that the chronology of the earliest Christian writings and their mutual relationship is hard to determine. In general, it is reasonably assumed that the gospels are later than the writings of Paul, but that both had recourse to older material. *Matthew* and *Luke* are often connected with an earlier source, called Q (the abbreviation of German *Quelle*, 'source'). Inevitably, some contemporary scholars lose sight of the fact that Q is not an existing text but rather a scholarly construct, and thus speak of differing traditions within Q and even of the congregations behind these differing traditions. Such investigations are usually highly ingenious, but in the end unverifiable. Anyone preferring not to build on sand will have to take account of the fact that the first century of Christianity can be reconstructed only in outline, not in detail.[7]

What then does the New Testament say about the eschatological resurrection of Jesus' followers?[8] The subject has filled many volumes and here I have room for only a few, admittedly sketchy and schematic, remarks. The first observation we have to make is that such a resurrection is not frequently mentioned in the gospels. Apparently, the Christians of the last decades of the first century (the period at which the gospels were most likely written) did not possess many pronouncements made by Jesus himself regarding this subject. Because the early Christians had by that time already experienced the Neronian persecution, they would surely have preserved relevant *logia*, had they existed. However, Jesus had concentrated on the new *aiôn* which he seems to have reserved for his generation but not for future resurrected ones, destined instead to see the Son of Man returning upon the clouds to judge mankind.[9] When confronted, though, he did not shy away from the subject and in fact rejected the scepticism of the Sadducees, who questioned the eschatological resurrection of the dead. In this debate (which is reported by all three synoptic gospels) Jesus professed a faith in the resurrection but not, presumably, in the restoration of the old body, since the resurrected would be 'like angels' (*Matthew* 22.23–33; *Mark* 12.18–27; *Luke* 20.27–40). This belief then seems to conform to those currents in contemporary Judaism which rejected bodily resurrection.[10]

Although the resurrection of the dead seems to have been of less importance

to Jesus himself, there can be little doubt that for the first Christians it became of the utmost importance through Paul.[11] As he (*1 Corinthians* 15.16–17) stated, 'For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised. And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain.' And indeed, all four gospels reach their dramatic climax with reports of Jesus' resurrection. Paul seems to have been the first to present Jesus' resurrection as the beginning of the collective eschatological resurrection, whereas in traditional Jewish thought individual resurrection, as in the case of Jesus, had been typical only of martyrs like the Maccabees.[12] Both *John* (5.29) and Luke (*Acts* 17.31) combine the eschatological resurrection with the coming Last Judgement. This combination is also traditional and already found in Jewish apocalyptic circles in the second century BC.[13]

2. **Pharisees, Qumran, Essenes**

Where did belief in a resurrection of the dead at the end of time originate? Luke (*Acts* 23.6) firmly connects the belief with the Pharisees by letting Paul cry out before the Jewish Sanhedrin: 'Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee: of the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question.'[14] This positive reference to the Pharisaic position, already found in the sources of the synoptic gospels, as we have observed, is corroborated by extrabiblical sources such as Josephus and rabbinical literature. In these passages, we can still see something of the debates which raged between leading intellectuals in the time of Jesus.[15] The Pharisees are more than once contrasted with the Sadducees, who denied a resurrection of the dead. The Sadducees thus actually continued an approach to the afterlife with had older roots than the Pharisaic position (Ch. 1.3), and their views remained influential in Egypt and Judaea at least during the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods.[16]

We have known for a few years now that the Christians were not only heirs of the Pharisees, but also stood in another tradition. The Dead Sea Scrolls, which had already given us so many surprises, proved surprising here as well.[17] In 1992 Puech published a text from Qumran that for the very first time explicitly mentions the resurrection of the dead (4Q521). He dubbed the text a 'messianic apocalypse', but the extant fragments show none of the characteristics of the apocalyptic revelation and it is impossible to be sure of the genre.[18] In this text, which dates from the Hasmonean period and comprises 17 fragments, it is said:

> And for[e]ver shall I cling to [those who h]ope, and in his mercy [. . .] and the fru[it of . . .] . . . not be delayed. And the Lord will perform marvellous acts (*Psalm* 87.3) such as have not existed, just as he sa[id, for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live (cf. *1 Samuel* 2.6), he will proclaim good news to the poor (*Isaiah* 61.1; *Matthew* 11.5) and [. . .] . . . [. . .] he will lead the [. . .] . . . and enrich the hungry (*Luke* 1.53).

In addition we have a further fragment of the same text:

> 'And [they (the accursed)] shall b[e] for death, [. . .] he who gives life to the dead of his people (*1 Samuel* 2.6). And we shall [gi]ve thanks and announce to you [. . .] of the Lord wh[o . . .] and opens [. . .] and [. . .] he reveals them [. . .] and the bridge of the abys[ses . . .].[19]

Moreover, 4Q385, containing a second-century interpretation of the famous vision of *Ezekiel* 37, replaces the original national restoration with the promise of individual resurrection.[20] Ezekiel's vision will engage us later (section 3), but here we may note that its original editors regarded the text as 'pre-Qumranian'. These are the only certain references to a resurrection found in Qumran,[21] although an Aramaic text pertaining to a cycle of Daniel concludes with: '[. . .] in order to eradicate wic[ked]ness [. . .] those in their blindness, and they have gone astray [. . . th]ey then shall arise [. . .] the [h]oly, and they will return [. . .] wickedness' (4Q245). However, the interpretation of these fragmentary lines remains highly uncertain.[22]

Of these texts the first passage is the most interesting in at least two ways. First, its use of the term 'good news' in combination with 'the meek' is a clear reference to *Isaiah*'s (61.1) 'because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek', quoted in turn by Matthew's (11.5) 'the poor have the good news preached to them'. This succession of texts strongly suggests in fact that the first followers of Jesus adopted the Greek term *euangelion* in order to translate a Jewish term and not from the contemporary use of *euangelia*, the plural of the same term, in Hellenistic and imperial inscriptions; in any case, the close connection of the latter term with pagan sacrifice hardly supports the derivation of the Christian term from non-Jewish usage.[23] Secondly, the passage shows that *Matthew* (11.2–5) and *Luke* (7.22), if not actually acquainted with our text, at least drew on the same tradition.[24]

It is not easy to determine the tradition behind the texts we have just quoted. The library of Qumran contained not only actual writings of the community, such as the Rule of the Community (1QS) and the Damascus Document, but also works that predated the community, such as *Tobit*, *Ben Sira*, *Jubilees* and the *Epistle of Jeremiah*. Moreover, the precise origin of the community is still debated. I may perhaps be forgiven, when I suggest that the best answer in this direction is provided by the so-called 'Groningen Hypothesis' of my colleagues Florentino García Martínez and the late Adam van der Woude. They have persuasively argued that the Qumran group originated in a rift that developed within the Essene movement during the priesthood of Jonathan (161–143/2 BC) and became definitive under the priesthood of John Hyrcanus (135/4–104 BC). The group loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness eventually established itself in Qumran. The Essenes, on the other hand, originated in the Palestine apocalyptic tradition before the revolt of the Maccabees, that is, at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century BC.[25]

The texts we have quoted are certainly atypical of the writings of the sect, which have so far not given us any further references to resurrection. What about the Essenes proper, however, the spiritual ancestors of the Qumran sect? The fundamental disputes between the Essenes and the Teacher of Righteousness had been over the cultic calendar, the norms of purity regarding the Temple and the city, and halakhoth relating to tithes, impurity and marriage statutes, but nowhere do we hear about major differences regarding eschatology. This suggests that the resurrection did not play an important role among the Essenes either. Nevertheless, there is an important difference between the reports of Josephus and those of the Church father Hippolytus (*ca*. 170–235): whereas in his *Jewish War* (*BJ* 2.154–8) the former ascribes to the Essenes a belief in the immortality of the soul with a hereafter divided into a kind of Hades and Elysian Fields, in his *Refutation of All Heresies* (IX.27) the latter ascribes to the Essenes a belief in the resurrection of the flesh, a last judgement and the final conflagration of the world.[26] How do we resolve this difference?

Puech dedicates a significant portion of his study to this problem, a question of the utmost importance to him. Having unpersuasively argued that the existence of a belief in resurrection can be found in a variety of Qumran texts, he naturally tries to prove the reliability of Hippolytus over Josephus. The relationship between the two texts has often been discussed and two possibilities in particular have been canvassed: the modification of Josephus by Hippolytus or the dependence of both authors on a common source. However, detailed textual and stylistic comparison has undeniably demonstrated that Hippolytus used Josephus as his source.[27] Evidently unable to provide a detailed refutation of this thesis, Puech proceeds along a different route. He belabours internal contradictions concerning Josephus' reports on the Essenes and, having gathered all the (poor!) evidence regarding an Essene belief in the resurrection, concludes that Hippolytus' report is more reliable and, like Josephus, derives from an older source, which he is nevertheless unable to identify.[28]

Puech's approach makes various methodological mistakes. First, if Hippolytus derives his observation regarding the Essenes from Josephus' report in the *Jewish War*, it does not matter whether Josephus makes mistakes or reports variant versions elsewhere in his work (this is a separate, although certainly not negligible, problem). Secondly, and more importantly, like many of his predecessors Puech has not sufficiently considered the ways in which Hippolytus proceeds in his work. Surely, a consideration of Hippolytus' report on the Essenes should take into account the manner in which the Church Father works in reporting the views of Greek philosophers, Christian heretics and Gnostic believers. Now, in this respect, recent years have witnessed much progress.

In his work Hippolytus claims that the Christian and Gnostic heretics, who are his principal targets, derived their views from the Greeks who in turn

derived theirs from the Jews. In order to prove this point, he did not hesitate to doctor his documents whenever this suited his aims and did not shrink from ascribing to his sources views utterly alien to their argument.[29] A spectacular example is Hippolytus' treatment of Heraclitus (B 63 DK): 'thereupon those asleep rise again, and, fully awake, become watchers over the living and the dead'. According to Hippolytus (*Ref*. IX 10.6), Heraclitus speaks here of the resurrection of the flesh and 'knows' that God is the cause of this resurrection. Needless to say, the fragment says nothing of the kind. On the contrary. The watchers rise normally from sleep, but Hippolytus changes this to resurrection and, on the analogy of 'where there's smoke there's fire', reasons that God must be involved. Now it could be argued that Hippolytus had misunderstood his source here, but this is hardly possible in another instance. In his chapter on the Stoics, Hippolytus (*Ref*. I.21) clearly attempted to demonstrate the affinities between Christian and Stoic doctrines. He stresses Stoic belief in the immortality of the soul, the *ekpyrosis* as purification (cf. Paul, *1 Corinthians* 3.13) and . . . resurrection. There can be no doubt that here, as often elsewhere, Hippolytus has added an *interpretatio Christiana*. Hippolytus, then, not only copied his texts but also changed them when this suited his purposes.[30]

In all fairness to Puech we should not neglect one other argument. He has rightly argued that Hippolytus (*Ref*. IX 28.5) also ascribes the expectation of conflagration to the Essenes and that assertion is dramatically confirmed by the thanksgiving hymns of Qumran, the *Hodayot*.[31] This, though, is purely chance. That the idea of *ekpyrosis*, or at least the term itself, was already popular among the early Christians is already illustrated by *2 Peter* 3.10: 'But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be burned up'. Hippolytus' mention of this text, then, is really no argument for his reliability at all, but simply an illustration of the importance he attached to the combination of the resurrection and the Last Judgement.[32]

Hippolytus thus not only doctored Josephus' report regarding the Essenes, but also attributed the idea of resurrection to the Pharisees, even though Josephus mentioned only their belief in the immortality of the soul. Mansfeld considers this interpolation another fraud comparable to Hippolytus' misrepresentation of the Essenes. This is not necessarily the case. Hippolytus must have been well acquainted with the notices in the New Testament regarding the Pharisees (above), and simply took his notice from that source. On the other hand, Hippolytus also attributed the *ekpyrosis* to the Pharisees, an attribution not supported by any other source. Rather than confusing Essenes and Pharisees,[33] it is most likely that Hippolytus once again combined the resurrection and the Last Judgement.

What have we learned so far? Clearly, the resurrection was not an important doctrine in Qumran nor, apparently, did it play a significant role among the Essenes. Unless we consider the Essenes great religious innovators, we may

safely conclude that the rise of the resurrection as a living religious concept postdates the birth of the Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees as separate currents within Judaism. In fact, this conclusion is supported by *Daniel* 12.2: 'and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt'. This statement dates from the period around 165 BC when the Jews started their revolt against the Seleucids. The analogy with Christianity (section 4) is quite suggestive: the theme became popular because of the martyrdoms we find in *2 Maccabees*. However, *Daniel* was not the first to record this belief. Rather, the publication of the Aramaic fragments of *Enoch* in 1976 showed that belief in resurrection was already current in the early second century BC (*1 Enoch* 22–27), although the Maccabean revolt certainly gave a great boost to the spread of the idea.[34] The Essenes and the community of Qumran kept to the older beliefs. Nevertheless, when belief in resurrection started to gain ground quickly in the first century BC, the first traces of this belief, not surprisingly, also became visible in the literature available to, if not necessarily written by, the community.

3. **Persian influence?**

Where did the belief in resurrection originate? Earlier studies of the concept of the resurrection betrayed few doubts in this respect. From the beginning of last century the so-called *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* proclaimed with great gusto and overwhelming erudition the dependency of Israel on the Zoroastrian faith of the Persians.[35] Is this likely? We are faced here with enormous difficulties, and only recently have we begun to form a clearer picture. The study of Persian religion is not a subject that looks back to a long tradition. It was only in 1723 that an Englishman, Richard Colbe, deposited a fragment of the *Avesta* in the Bodleian Library, thus demonstrating that the holy book of the Parsees had not been lost. Here it was shown in 1754 to a young Frenchman, Abraham Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805), who had learned his Oriental languages in Holland. He immediately decided to go to India where he acquired a copy of the *Vendidat*, and in 1771 he published his translation of the *Avesta*.[36] This first attempt was premature, and our understanding of the language of the *Avesta* as well as its reception has since then grown only slowly. The geographical origin of the oldest part of the *Avesta*, currently dated to the period around 1000 BC, remains uncertain. The Avestan texts wandered gradually from (most likely) eastern Iran to the southwest, where they were finally fixed in writing by the Sassanian kings, a process perhaps already begun in the first centuries of the Christian era under the Arsacids.[37] However, our oldest Avestan manuscript dates from only AD 1288, and all extant manuscripts go back to a single *Stammhandschrift* of the ninth or tenth century.[38]

In the course of their wanderings the texts were adapted to their new

circumstances. This makes the Avesta extremely difficult to read, a difficulty not alleviated by its highly poetical and cryptic style. Older studies often had to rely on insufficiently understood texts, and real progress regarding the Old Avesta has only been made once again in the last few decades after more than half a century of stagnation. It is now clearly understood that we have to make a distinction between the Old Avestan texts, of which Zoroaster perhaps was not the author,[39] and the Young Avestan texts, which probably are at least half a millennium later.[40] Moreover, we should not presume that every Zoroastrian doctrine can be read back into the Iranian *Urzeit*. Zoroastrianism was a living religion subject to internal disputes and thus changed over the centuries. Nevertheless, its leading contemporary scholar, Mary Boyce, has consistently presented a static view – against all evidence and common sense.[41]

What then is our evidence for Zoroastrian belief in resurrection? Although earlier generations of Iranists have suggested the contrary,[42] an interest in resurrection is clearly not attested in the Old Avesta and any eschatology seems to be individual.[43] In fact, it is virtually certain that Zoroastrian belief in resurrection does not belong to its earliest stages. A later date is supported both by the doctrine of the journey of the soul to heaven,[44] and the fact that the Zoroastrians delivered their dead to dogs and vultures.[45] This particular way of disposing of corpses was probably already current in pre-Zoroastrian times, since the method was also employed in eastern Iran and Central Asia,[46] and in our texts it is first mentioned by Herodotus (1.140).[47] The famous vision in *Ezekiel* 37 of the valley of dry bones is often also connected with Zoroastrian funeral usage, but the Jewish prophet lived in Babylonia at the beginning of the sixth century BC and that is precisely the problem. We simply do not know how widespread this particular manner of disposing of bodies had become in that area. We do not even know to what extent Zoroastrian faith had already conquered the hearts of the ruling Achaemenids, let alone those of the ordinary Medes and Persians.[48] It is only in Sassanian times that later Zoroastrian practice became the general rule.[49] The connection of Ezekiel's vision with Persian practices can therefore not be considered an established fact.[50]

In the succeeding age the conception of the soul gradually changed,[51] but the first and only Avestan text which undeniably mentions resurrection is *Yast* 19,[52] a hymn of the Young Avesta that presumably dates from the time of the Achaemenids.[53] The greater part of this hymn concerns the *xvarnah*, or the 'Light of Fortune' of the Persian king,[54] who occupied the central position in the Persian religious system.[55] This section is framed by two verses (11 and 89) which proclaim that the *xvarnah* will enable the saviour to make:

> existence brilliant, not aging, imperishable, not rotting, not putrefying, enjoying eternal life, enjoying eternal benefit, enjoying power at will so that the dead will rise again, [so that] imperishability will be bestowed on the living, [and] existence will be made brilliant in value.
>
> (tr. Humbach and Ichaporia)

These verses do not particularly thematise the rising of the dead. In their idyllic picture a final judgement is not mentioned and hardly has a place.

Proceeding in chronological sequence, we find our next passage in Theopompus' *Philippica* (*FGrH* 115 F 64a), quoted by the pagan (!) Diogenes Laertius: 'according to the Magi men will return to life and be immortal, and that the world will endure through their invocations' (1.9). This view was apparently reported by Aristotle's pupil Eudemus (fr. 89 Wehrli[2]) as well. The fact that Theopompus also mentions that at the end of time mankind 'will not cast a shadow' (*FGrH* 115 F 65) seems to suggest a spiritual rather than the, more normally attested, material resurrection.[56] Unfortunately, we do not know the exact date of Theopompus' work. Having lived for some time at the court of Philip of Macedon he eventually died in Ptolemaic Alexandria. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that he collected his information from the Magi after Alexander's invasion of Persia: mere chance cannot explain the sudden increase in sources not just for Persian religion but also for Judaism in the last decades of the fourth century BC.[57] Diogenes Laertius, it is significant to note, has Theopompus use the same word, 'return to life', that he employed for the reincarnations of Epimenides (Ch. 2.3), but the Christian author Aeneas of Gaza (*ca*. 450–525) tells us that 'Zoroaster prophesies that there will be a time in which a resurrection of the corpses will take place. Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F 64b) knows what I say'. Aeneas has translated Theopompus' original words in typically Christian categories, and, characteristically, Mary Boyce quotes only Aeneas, not Diogenes Laertius.[58]

Rather strikingly, no other mention of resurrection in Iranian thought can be found before the Sassanian period, when the belief in an afterlife and resurrection was evidently much discussed. It is against this background that we have to situate the well-known visions of the Sassanian chief priest Kirdir (*ca*. 280 AD).[59] Why, though, would resurrection, mentioned only incidentally in the whole of the Old and Young Avesta, have suddenly risen to such prominence? Two possibilities suggest themselves. First, just as the belief in resurrection started to flower in Israel after the struggle against the Seleucids (section 2), Zoroastrian belief in resurrection may have become more prominent in the times after Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian Empire. Persian religion must have been restructured after the disappearance of the king with his pivotal role, although we do not have any information in this regard, and in Theopompus' notice there is no longer a connection between resurrection and the king. A second and perhaps more likely possibility may be the influence of Christianity. We know that in the third and fourth centuries AD Christianity made great inroads in Iran.[60] It may well be that the Zoroastrian leader Kirdir (above) decided to beat the Christians on their own terrain and 'upvalued' the resurrection as mentioned in the Young Avesta. Such a development would at least explain internal Zoroastrian discussions about resurrection. Had belief in resurrection been an age-old and respected Zoroastrian dogma, this phenomenon would be much more difficult to understand.

For the influence of Christianity in this period we probably also have another example. According to several Zoroastrian writings, the Greeks under Alexander the Great had destroyed not only a precious Achaemenid Avesta codex but also the other religious books, which had been written on 12,000 ox-hides. In fact, there is no trace at all of these writings in the Achaemenid period, and the tradition seems to have been created in order to explain the absence of a Persian holy book in contrast to those of the Jews, Christians and Manichaeans. This lack of a written religious tradition seems to have been first seriously felt precisely in the same period in which resurrection became an issue.[61]

In the same period, we also find numerous works of an apocalyptic character. The nature and chronology of Iranian apocalypticism has recently been hotly debated. For many years it was virtually dogma that the genre went back to the earliest period, but it has recently been argued that the whole genre of Iranian apocalypticism is actually a fairly late genre – at least postdating Christian times.[62] Admittedly, this tendency to 'deconstruct' the notion of Iranian apocalypticism may well be going too far,[63] and not all arguments to discredit it are convincing. For example, when the Israeli Iranist Shaked wants to prove the authentic Iranian character of the *Oracles of Hystaspes*, one of the former key witnesses, he argues that the pseudepigraphic attribution of this work would hardly have taken place had there not already been such a genre in Iran. This argument overlooks the fact that the (probable) title of one of the Nag Hammadi treatises, *Zostrianos*, in no way guarantees the existence of (proto-?)gnostic writings in pre-gnostic times![64] However this may be, the debate clearly shows that we must be very careful in postulating influences from a genre which itself is very hard to reconstruct with any certainty. There thus is little reason to derive Jewish ideas about resurrection from Persian sources. Their origin(s) may well lie in intra-Jewish developments. Of course, this conclusion does not exclude the overall possibility of Iranian influence on Jewish religion.[65] In this respect we have to keep an open mind, but any posited influence must be proven and each case should always be studied individually.

4. **Late Antiquity**

With the Persians we move into Late Antiquity, but they certainly were not the only ones interested in resurrection. During the first centuries of Christianity there was hardly a Christian author who did not mention the resurrection, and in all cases it is the resurrection of the whole body. The distinction between the body and the soul which, as we observed in Chapter 1, had developed in the Greek world, hardly played a role in the writings of earliest Christianity, still very much influenced by Jewish traditions. The Church Father Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.6.1), for example, explicitly stated that the soul was an intricate part of the body and not something to be released.[66] In the course of the second century the resurrection became a major issue in the internal struggles of

Christianity against the Gnostics, and, as we can see from Origen's *Contra Celsum*, pagans now started to use the resurrection as an argument against Christianity. During these debates the 'resurrection of the dead' became even more sharply formulated as the 'resurrection of the flesh', thus leaving no doubt whatsoever about what kind of resurrection the Christians meant.[67] I cannot of course discuss the whole of Late Antiquity in this final section, and we will limit ourselves therefore to some observations on the Gnostics and the thesis of Jonathan Smith that the birth of 'dying and rising' gods in Late Antiquity was not a case of genealogy, i.e. a pagan reaction to Christian beliefs, but of analogy: the two beliefs arose independently of each other out of similar backgrounds.

The struggle of orthodox Christianity against the Gnostics has of course long been known from the texts of the Church Fathers. Because the original literature of their Gnostic opponents had mostly perished, the struggle had always to be studied from the victorious Christian perspective. Fortunately, however, the discovery in 1945 of an extensive Gnostic library in Egyptian Nag Hammadi has also given us an original Gnostic discourse on the resurrection, *The Epistle to Rheginos*.[68] The second-century author gives a surprisingly Christian answer to the question 'What is the resurrection?', in which are lacking such typical Gnostic tenets as the rejection of the flesh.[69] The treatise also shows that we must be careful speaking about *the* Gnostics, since in this respect Gnostic view was not uniform.[70]

The most original interpretation of the Gnostic view of the resurrection of Christ has been provided by Elaine Pagels. She argues that the orthodox teaching on the resurrection aimed at legitimising 'a hierarchy of persons through whose authority all others must approach God'. Her views have found acceptance by the well-known patristic scholar John Gager, who, drawing on Pagels' argument and Mary Douglas' approach to the body, has suggested that resurrection involving both material continuity and bodily integrity supports the power of ecclesiastical or moral hierarchy.[71] In other words, the Christian doctrine of resurrection was a displaced discourse about status and hierarchy in the Church. What are the arguments for these innovative, if rather surprising, views?

In fact, Pagels supplies very little in the way of argument.[72] The only text she quotes which actually mentions the resurrection in connection with hierarchy comes from Peter's words in the canonical *Acts of the Apostles*. Peter declares that to receive a share in the disciples' authority a new disciple must be chosen from those who were with Jesus all along: '*one of these men must become with us a witness to the resurrection*' (1.22: italics Pagels). But this text, rather than making a statement on the hierarchy within the Church of Luke's time, focuses on the importance of the resurrection to the early Christian movement. On the other hand, most of the other texts Pagels adduces have something to say on authority, not resurrection.

Curiously, Pagels also discusses the problem out of historical context.

Nowhere is the reader told that the debates on the resurrection of the dead took place at a time when Christians were persecuted for their beliefs. The significance of resurrection for the early orthodox Christians in this respect is well demonstrated by a letter, which the church of Lyons sent to the church of Vienne in order to report on a persecution in AD 177. After the executions, the bodies of the martyrs were left unburied for six days. Their corpses were then burned and thrown into the Rhône in order

> as they themselves [i.e. the Romans] said, that they might have no hope in the resurrection in which they put their trust when they introduce this strange new cult among us and despise the torments, walking readily and joyfully to their death. Now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God can help them and rescue them from our hands.[73]

The passage is highly significant, since it shows that the pagan community had already noted the great importance Christians attached to resurrection and apparently concluded that this could not take place without a proper burial – something which is not thematised in the Christian reports of the martyrs' deaths.

The Gnostics, on the other hand, did not think it necessary to die for their faith.[74] Given the absence of martyrdom, it is therefore hardly surprising that they did not insist on the bodily resurrection of Christ. For the Christian martyrs, the prospect of resurrection was a major incentive to hold out. And, as so often happens in history, the future belonged to the hardliners, not to those unprepared to die for their cause.

Finally, we have suggested that the impact of the Christians stimulated the Zoroastrians to thematise the resurrection. Did the resurrection influence other cults as well? This problem is the subject of one of the most stimulating studies that has appeared in the history of religion in recent years: *Drudgery Divine* by Jonathan Z. Smith, perhaps the most erudite historian of religion at work today.[75] In his book Smith argues that Christian scholars, particularly Protestant ones, have overstressed the uniqueness of the 'Christ-event' and the genre of the gospel in order to render these themes immune to historical criticism. Moreover, Protestants have favoured apostolic Christianity for its purportedly 'Protestant' characteristics, whereas the mystery-religions have been treated as essentially Catholic.[76] There can be no doubt that this is a shrewd observation. It fits in well with the fact that Protestants played the most important roles in the initial decades of the history of religion as an academic discipline.[77] In other respects, though, Smith's study is more debatable – in particular regarding his remarks concerning the resurrection.

Smith's point of departure is indeed an amazing turn in the study of the religions of Late Antiquity. Whereas in the beginning of last century scholars tended to postulate an archaic pattern of 'dying and rising deities' such as

Osiris,[78] Tammuz (Dumuzi: below), Adonis[79] and Attis (among whom the more adventurous also included the death and resurrection of Christ),[80] more recent scholars have reversed the pattern, claiming that the pagan cults adapted themselves to Christianity. Smith reproaches contemporary scholars of Christian beginning as follows:

> ignoring their own reiterated insistence, when the myth and ritual complex appeared archaic, that analogies do not yield genealogies, they now eagerly assert what they (the scholars) hitherto denied, that the similarities demonstrate that the Mediterranean cults borrowed from the Christian. In no work familiar to me, has this abrupt about-face been given a methodological justification.[81]

This statement demands comment. First, the reproach is rather curious. It lumps together virtually a century of scholarship. Why should scholarship not change over such a long period? Given Smith's many criticisms of Protestant scholars, one should also not overlook the fact that it was a Catholic, the Fleming Pieter Lambrechts, who initiated this reversal of the fortunes of many a Late Antique cult.[82] Second, Smith has completely overlooked the fact that Walter Burkert provided at least the beginning of an explanation for this turning of the scholarly tables, since his discussion of these gods clearly shows that the basis for the views of Frazer and his contemporaries has been completely undermined by the continuing publication and analysis of the materials of the Ancient Near East. For example, in 1951 a tablet was discovered with the hitherto missing conclusion of the Sumerian myth of Inanna and Dumuzi: instead of his expected resurrection Dumuzi is killed as a substitute for Inanna.[83] Moreover, a steady trickle of new inscriptions, archaeological monuments and artefacts has enabled scholars to construct a much more sophisticated view of Late Antiquity than was possible for their colleagues at the beginning of last century. There is then no reason not to see this reversal for what it is: a normal example of progress in scholarship.

Subsequently, Smith goes on to observe that the notion of Christian 'dying and rising' is the 'product of a complex developmental process' and that its developmental aspect is more interesting than its origin. One may or may not agree with this point of view, but it certainly does not follow from it, as Smith seems to think, that we must now see the development of this notion in Christianity and other contemporary religions as '*analogous processes* [italics his] responding to parallel kinds of religious situations, and that we should no longer continue to construct genealogical relations between them, whether it be expressed in terms of the former "borrowing" from the latter, or, more recently, in an insistence on the reverse.' And, it most certainly does *not* lead to the conclusion that

> if an increased focus on the 'dying and rising' of the central cult figure

> and some notion of a relationship between the individual cult member and the destiny of the deity is a parallel innovation of the late second to fifth centuries, in both the Late Antique cults of Attis and Adonis *and* [italics Smith's] of Jesus, rather than a 'survival' of an archaic element in these cults, then the issue becomes one of analogy (possibly even of shared causality) and no longer one of genealogy.[84]

This perverse line of reasoning leads one to wonder about the hidden agenda of Smith's own book. Clearly, if the Protestants from the beginning of last century attempted, against all evidence, to isolate early Christianity from its environment, Smith now tries, again against all evidence, to isolate pagan cults from their Christian environment. If accepted, Smith's proposition would force us to see religions in Late Antiquity as isolated phenomena developing without any interrelationship. This is a curious position, considering that in Late Antiquity there was great competition among religions.[85] In fact, there are well-attested cases where religions influenced one another;[86] recently, it has even become increasingly clear that Jewish and/or Judaising groups had an important influence on the pagan cult of Theos Hypsistos.[87]

Smith's *parti pris* is well illustrated by his discussion of Attis. This Phrygian mythological figure received a cult only in the second century when it was maintained that his body suffered no corruption after he was killed by a boar, and it is only in the fourth century that he is said to have been resurrected.[88] Smith argues that the idea of resurrection was always latent in the Attis tradition, and that we can thus exclude Christian influence. Now the idea of a theme being 'latent' is a fruitful one and could perhaps be applied to the pre-history of the Jewish resurrection in the light of texts from *Hosea* 6, *Isaiah* 26 and 53, and *Psalms* 73 and 84.[89] Eventually, however, for the potentiality to materialise, there has to be a stimulus such as the Seleucid persecutions in Israel during the second century BC. Smith, on the other hand, does not indicate what stimulus the Attis cult acted on. We may note that around 300 AD Christianity had already made vast inroads in the Roman Empire.[90] A Christian influence on the development in the Attis cult is thus more than likely.[91]

Smith also fails to discuss the problem of Christian influence on the cult of Mithras,[92] although in the period 150–200 AD at least two references to Mithraic details strongly point in that direction. Both Justin and Tertullian note the presence of Eucharist-like bread in Mithraic rites, and the latter even mentions an *imaginem resurrectionis*.[93] Moreover, in the second-century Mithraic inscriptions under the Roman Church of Santa Prisca we find the line: 'And you (Mithras) [s]aved us after having shed the [. . .] blood', which strongly suggests the saving blood of Christ.[94] It seems, then, that Christianity had inspired early Mithraism.

In light of the most recent insights into the origin of Mithraism this conclusion is less surprising than it might seem at first sight. Whereas formerly the origin of the cult of Mithras was located in Persia or in neighbouring

countries, both the chronology of the first references and the location of the first inscriptions have gradually persuaded many scholars that Mithraism in fact was founded in Rome in the second half of the first century AD, although an influence from Commagene cannot be excluded.[95] Because Christianity took hold in Rome very early and had even made enough converts to be blamed for the notorious fire of 65 AD,[96] there seems to be no reason to *a priori* exclude Christian influence from the formation of the Mithraic cult.

The reference in Tertullian is not specific enough to enable us to understand what he meant exactly with the *imaginem resurrectionis*. There can be no doubt, though, that the resurrections of Jesus himself and his resurrecting of others made a great impression on the pagan world. References to an apparent death and resurrection already start to proliferate in pagan novels from the Neronian time onwards, and a recent investigation therefore concludes that the genre was probably influenced by the Christian Gospel narratives.[97] In the second century, pagan magicians start being credited with the power to resurrect,[98] and in the third-century biography of the pagan 'saint' Apollonius of Tyana there occurs a detailed description of the resurrection of a girl.[99] A reference in a Mithraic cult, however isolated perhaps, could thus fit a growing contemporary fascination with resurrection.

5. Conclusion

It is time to come to a close. Taking our start from Christian belief in the resurrection of Christ, we have attempted to trace the roots of this belief in its Jewish environment. We have also tried to show that the strength of the early Christian belief in the resurrection of the body cannot be separated from its context, viz. the persecutions by the Romans. Finally, we have argued that the success of Christianity also influenced other religions either to revalue their belief in the resurrection (the Zoroastrians) or to copy the belief (Mithraism, Attis). Success stimulates imitation – not only in economics, but also in the market of symbolic goods.[100]

5

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AFTERLIFE

From the *Passion of Perpetua* to purgatory

The resurrection was undoubtedly the most spectacular aspect of the Christian ideas about the 'life everlasting', but what about the other aspects? Although the New Testament offers only a few clues to the views of Jesus and his earliest followers about the afterlife, later Christians had much more to say, and their views have often been studied.[1] Unfortunately, these analyses are rarely satisfactory from a historical perspective, since the leading surveys and dictionaries usually provide the reader with enumeration of these views rather than with analysis offering explanation by attempting to trace historical connections. Therefore, I would like to try to answer three questions which, as far as I can see, have been rarely posed in combination.[2] First, how did the views on afterlife develop among the early Christians in the first centuries of its existence? Secondly, from where did the early Christians derive their ideas: from Judaism, from the surrounding Greco-Roman society, or from their own community? Thirdly, is it possible to identify contributing factors to this rapid development of the idea of an afterlife?

Naturally, in the scope of one chapter we cannot survey the whole development of Christian thought on the afterlife or answer in detail all three questions. So I will focus on the *Passion of Perpetua*, a report of a martyrdom from about 200 AD, which contains several visions of heaven and, perhaps, hell. This choice has the advantage that it enables us to look at the beliefs of a specific community at a specific time and specific place. Taking these beliefs as our point of departure we can compare them with other early Christian views (section 2). For a second topic I have chosen the 'birth' of purgatory in the twelfth century. Not only was purgatory the last great official addition to traditional Christian afterlife, but its acceptance is also an interesting illustration of the speed with which a religion, if necessary, can adapt its views of the afterlife (section 3) Before we come to the *Passion*, though, we will first take a short look at the *New Testament*.

1. The New Testament

The earliest references in the New Testament to the afterlife are found in the writings of Paul, although he speaks about a fate after death in not very

explicit terms. But both in his *Letter to the Philippians* (1.22–3) and in *2 Corinthians* (5.1–10) he seems to suggest that he will be with Christ immediately after his death. Among the evangelists, Luke is the only one to relate the parable of the rich man, who after death stays 'in Hades', and poor Lazarus, who 'was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom' (16.19–31).[3] He is also the only one to mention Jesus' words to the robber on the cross: 'Truly I say to you, today you will be with me in Paradise' (23.43).[4] Luke's history of the earliest Christian church from the birth of Jesus to Paul's enforced stay in Rome, which at an early date was divided into his Gospel and the *Acts of the Apostles*, probably dates from the end of the first century.[5] His interest in these words of Jesus may already reflect contemporary Christian concern about what happened after death. In the equally late *1 Peter* it is said that Christ 'preached to the spirits in prison' (3.19), which expression is probably derived from a description in pre-Christian *1 Enoch* (10.11–15) and which was taken by some early Christian authors as a concern for those who had died before Christ.[6] The most detailed description in the later books of the New Testament is found in *Revelation*, where the author speaks of the 'souls of those slain because of the word of God and the witness they had borne' under a heavenly altar (6.9) and of a first resurrection, a reign of thousand years (20.4–6), and a second, definitive resurrection when the Last Judgement will come, when 'who was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire' (20.15). The New Testament, then, has very little to say about the existence of heaven, hell or purgatory, but concentrates its attention wholly on the resurrection and the Last Judgement.

2. The *Passion of Perpetua*

Nearly a century later the situation had completely changed. This becomes very much apparent from the so-called *Acta martyrum*, reports about the deaths of martyrs from the middle of the second century onwards, which Christians started to preserve and communicate in order to encourage the faithful to endure persecutions. Their documentation of legal hearings often contains authentic material, although their adaptations to varying aims also contain much that is fictional.[7] Moreover, the *Acta* have the great advantage over the more apologetic works of the same period in that they allow us to observe both male and female Christians of all ranks and ages, and from all corners of the Roman Empire. They are thus valuable witnesses to the ways the Christian faith was lived rather than conceived.[8]

One of these texts deserves our attention in particular. The aforementioned *Passion of Perpetua* is the fascinating report of the final days of a North African young woman who was executed on 7 March 203.[9] She was only twenty years old, 'of high birth, educated in a matter befitting her status and formally and properly married' (2.1, tr. Shaw).[10] Her education and high status explain why she was able and allowed to keep a diary in prison which, after her death, was

(somewhat?) edited and incorporated into the description of her martyrdom.[11] In her diary Perpetua recorded two visions, one of her own and the other of her spiritual advisor's, both of which tell us something about the ways in which heaven was imagined by early Christians.[12] Admittedly, Perpetua's own vision clearly reflects her worries about her forthcoming death, but this circumstance does not seem to have affected her picture of the afterlife. The high respect in which her *Passion* was held in North Africa shows that these visions must have been widely acceptable as valuable representations of the life to come.[13] In fact, it may not be chance that they derive precisely from North Africa, since funerary inscriptions from that area were more directed to the life hereafter than those in Rome and Italy,[14] just as in Africa there was more attention to the cult of the dead, even in Christian circles, than in Italy.[15]

Perpetua herself dreamt that she climbed a long ladder up to heaven, where she saw 'an immensely large garden, and in it a white-haired man sat in shepherd's garb, tall and milking sheep,[16] and many thousands of people dressed in white garments stood around him.[17] He raised his head, looked at me and said: "It is good that you have come, my child"' (4.8–9). Perpetua also recorded a vision experienced by her spiritual advisor, Saturus, who related how, after his death, he was carried by four angels beyond the present world to an intense light, where he arrived in 'a great open space, which looked like a park, with roses as high as trees and all kinds of flowers. The trees were as high as cypresses and their leaves were constantly singing (11.5–6) . . . Then we came near a place whose walls seemed to be constructed of light. And in front of the gate stood four angels, who dressed those who entered in white garments. We also entered and heard the sound of voices in unison chanting endlessly: "Holy, holy, holy"' (12.1–2). Among those present Saturus 'recognized many of our brethren, martyrs among them. All of us were sustained by an indescribable fragrance that satisfied us' (13.8).

These visions raise a number of questions. To begin with, when did these martyrs expect to go to heaven? Saturus' vision shows that he evidently expected to ascend straight to heaven after his martyrdom. And indeed, this view was widely shared by his fellow martyrs. In the middle of the second century the aged bishop of Smyrna, Polycarp, when tied to the stake, prayed: 'May I be received *this day* among them [the martyrs] before your face as a rich and acceptable sacrifice' (*Mart. Polyc*. 14.2). In 180 one of the martyrs from the small North African town of Scillium, Nartzalus, said to his judge, the proconsul Saturninus: 'Today we are martyrs in heaven. Thanks be to God' (*Passio Scill*. 15). An even more striking illustration of this belief is found in the *Passio Fructuosi* (5). When in 259 AD together with two companions the Spanish bishop Fructuosus was executed by burning, some Christians saw them rising up to heaven, still tied to their stakes! However, it was not only the martyrs who went straight to heaven. According to the *Shepherd* of the Roman Hermas, normally dated around 140 AD, immediate entry after death is given to all Christians, although the martyrs sit at the right hand of Christ

and the others at his left; variations of this view can be found among many earlier Church fathers, such as Hippolytus, Clement and Origen.[18]

On the other hand, both the idea of an immediate entry into heaven and the admission of all Christians did not go undisputed. Admittedly, Saturus saw 'many of our brethren, martyrs among them', but Tertullian (*On the Soul* 55.4) writes that 'on the day of her passion the most heroic martyr Perpetua saw in the revelation of Paradise only her fellow-martyrs'. It seems that at this point Tertullian used the name of the famous martyr deviously to canvass his own views about the admission into heaven, since the *Passion of Perpetua* does not contain such a passage and the vision of Saturus explicitly contradicts his words. According to Tertullian and Church Fathers such as Papias and Irenaeus, the dead were first detained in a subterranean abode pending the Resurrection and the thousand-year reign of Christ preceding the definitive Last Judgement. Others thought that, before the resurrection, they would first rest in a kind of sleep, as appears from the Christian term *coemeterium*, 'sleeping place', the verbal ancestor of our 'cemetery', but initially a term for a single grave.[19] These alternative views eventually depended on the Jewish Apocalyptic tradition of *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, but they became gradually marginalised as Jewish influence was replaced by that of Greco-Roman traditions.[20] Yet the doctrine of a temporary abode had a long life in the West and disappeared definitively only during the battle of the Church against the Cathars in the fourteenth century (section 3).[21] The vision of a thousand-year reign had an even longer life and remained immensely influential in the history of the Western World, where it became the source of many a revolutionary ideology.[22]

The problem of the exact time and nature of the resurrection would continue to occupy Christian theologians in the coming centuries, but the event itself is rarely mentioned in earlier Christian epitaphs, which become more numerous after the conversion of Constantine and generally focus on immediate entry into heaven.[23] It seems that in this respect the cessation of the persecutions led to different emphases in the eschatological expectations of the faithful.[24]

Having taken a brief look at the 'when' and the 'who', let us now turn our attention to the problem as to *how* the dead went to the hereafter. In Perpetua's vision she climbed in person to heaven but Saturus used the expression 'we had died and left the body'.[25] The latter expression suggests a certain dualism of body and soul, yet in his vision Saturus walks round in his own body. And indeed, the *Acta* of the early martyrs nowhere display a marked body–soul opposition, which is also absent from the earlier Christian epitaphs. It is only in the later, often inauthentic, reports and epitaphs that we find such a clear contrast, which was first introduced by Justin and Tatian, Christian intellectuals who were heavily influenced by Greek philosophy. They used the Greek concept of the immortal soul in order to bolster their arguments for the resurrection, albeit with a number of modifications, such as different fates for sinners and the saved.[26]

Several Christian intellectuals, such as Origen, even espoused the Orphic view of the body as the prison of the soul, which also occurs in some late Christian poetic epitaphs,[27] but he was an exception, as he often was in his views on the hereafter.[28] The Orphic idea clearly went against the early Christian expectation of the resurrection of the body. The same expectation also prevented the acceptance of the doctrine of reincarnation, which never acquired many adherents,[29] although Origen and his later follower Evagrius were prepared to consider the possibility.[30] Considering their negative views on the resurrection (Ch. 4.4), it is hardly surprising that reincarnation was acceptable to the Gnostics even though they limited its numbers.[31]

In his *Ecclesiastical History* (6.37), Eusebius records that Arabs still believe that the soul dies with the body, but will be revived with the resurrection. In 1941 this notice was confirmed when a report was discovered in Egypt of a debate between Heraclides, a local bishop, and Origen, who apparently was reputed to be a kind of 'specialist' on the hereafter, at a provincial conference, probably sometime between 244 and 248 AD. It strongly appears that in their outlying area Arabs had preserved a belief which may well have been shared by the earliest Jewish Christians before the Platonic opposition gradually gained the upper hand.[32]

What did heaven look like? As we saw, before actually entering heaven Saturus already saw an intense light. The Orphics had also stressed the light in the underworld,[33] and more or less contemporary pagan funerary poetry spoke of the *purpureus perpetuusque dies*,[34] a picture probably derived from Vergil's:

> *largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit*
> *purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt*
> Here an ampler air clothes the plains with brilliant light,
> And always they see a sun and stars which are theirs alone[35]

But whereas in pagan epitaphs light plays on the whole a very limited role as a dominant characteristic of the hereafter, literally dozens of Christian funerary epitaphs speak of heaven as a *lux vera*, a *lux perpetua*, an expression which has even been incorporated into the Christian liturgy. The characterisation of heaven as a place full of light probably derives from the New Testament, where *Revelation* states that in the new Jerusalem 'there shall be no night there; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun; for the Lord God giveth them light' (22.5). If anything, light was *the* striking characteristic of heaven for the Christian faithful.[36]

Having passed the light, Saturus arrived in a kind of park and Perpetua in a garden. This garden-like picture of the hereafter already appears in the *Apocalypse of Peter* (*ca*. AD 135), where God 'showed us a great open garden. [It was] full of fair trees and blessed fruits, full of fragrance of perfume. Its fragrance was beautiful and that fragrance reached to us. And of it . . . I saw many fruits.'[37] A comparable picture appears in other North African authors

and seems to have already been the ruling image at the time.[38] It probably reached its finest expression in a hymn (9) of Ephræm the Syrian (*ca*. 306–73 AD), in whose Paradise the souls of the blessed are even depicted as living in trees which offer shelter, fruit and perfume – the round of the seasons having disappeared.[39] The idea was extremely popular in the Christian epitaphs, which frequently referred to the flowers in heaven but also mentioned grass, fragrant herbs, lush meadows and brooks.[40] In an epitaph from 382 AD a husband even described his young deceased wife as being in an eternal spring-like landscape. The reference to spring as the favourite time of the year may be also present in Saturus' mention of roses, the spring-flower par excellence in antiquity.[41]

Similar descriptions were not absent from pagan funerary poetry, but the Christians greatly elaborated upon the motif, which they derived from literary descriptions of the *locus amoenus*, a traditional topos in Latin poetry.[42] A pagan origin of the motif is the more probable, since the garden is virtually absent in New Testament eschatology, although it is important in Jewish eschatology, as the projection in the *Endzeit* of the *Urzeit* Garden of Eden.[43] As was the case with the presence of light, we notice here that the other-worldly tendency of the Christians had led them to intensify the beauty of heaven in comparison with pagan descriptions of the underworld.

In addition to the garden-like appearance of heaven, we are struck by the stress on the presence of many others in heaven: Perpetua sees 'many thousands of people' and Saturus 'many of our brethren'. This multitude of people fits in with the description of heaven as a large place. The idea frequently recurs in the early Christian epitaphs where the dead are being said to have joined the *beati*, *iusti*, *electi* and *sancti*, whereas the pagan deceased of that period wander rather lonely in the Elysian Fields.[44] Although in pagan epitaphs the dead are sometimes represented as coming together in festal processions, we never find in them the overwhelming sense of community, which is already heavily stressed in the New Testament, where the apostle Paul calls the addressees of his letters 'saints' or 'holy ones', where the faithful are each other's 'brothers' and 'sisters', and where the members of the Church together constitute the 'body of Christ'. This feeling of closely belonging together, which must have sustained the early Christians in a hostile world, is here transferred to the hereafter: the Christian community on earth is continued in heaven.[45]

The visions also tell us something about the activities of the blessed in heaven. Saturus heard people singing in unison 'Holy, holy, holy'.[46] The words are a straight quotation from one of the visions of *Revelation* (4.8) where the beasts round the throne of God 'rest not day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy. Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come',[47] although eventually they derive from a vision in *Isaiah* (6.3); the Greek form of the words may well point to its use in contemporary liturgy.[48] Praising a divinity became typical in the Hellenistic period, when in hymns and aretologies

worshippers eulogised their god, be it Isis, Dionysos or Zeus, as in the famous hymn of Cleanthes.[49] However, such praise is virtually absent from pagan funerary poems and rather infrequent in early Christian thought. One may even wonder whether it is not typical of North Africa, since in Christianity this praise of God is raised to the foremost activity of the blessed by Augustine, who states, 'we will see God as he is, and when we see him we shall praise him. And this will be the life of the saints, the activity of those at rest: we shall praise without ceasing' (*Sermo* 362.30–31) and 'All our activity will be "Amen" and "Alleluiah"' (*Sermo* 362.28–9), once again liturgical terms.

Others were much more reticent. In fact, the very detailed index of Daley's recent handbook of patristic eschatology, *The Hope of the Early Church* (n. 1), clearly shows that most reports about the activities of the blessed occur in later authors, not in those of the first three centuries. Apparently, 'to be with Christ' was enough for those who believed in the immediate ascension into heaven, whereas the millenarians, naturally, did not give much thought to the interim period at all.

It was not the case, however, that the worshippers had to give everything and received nothing. When Perpetua entered heaven, Christ said to her: 'It is good that you have come, my child'. The affectionate tone fits in with the special relationship with God that we already find in the New Testament, where the language expressing the relationship between God and the faithful complements the close bond between the faithful themselves.[50] God is 'the Father' and the Christians are his 'children'. He 'loves' them and they 'love' him. Many of us have heard these words so often that we have become deaf to their originality in these first Christian centuries, but Aristotle could still say: 'it would be absurd if someone were to say that he loves Zeus' (*MM*. 1208 b 30).

In this respect the early Christians probably developed ideas which were already current in contemporary Judaism, since one of the thanksgiving hymns of Qumran says:

> For my mother did not know me,
> and my father abandoned me to you.
> Because you are father to all the [son]s of your truth.
> You rejoice in them,
> like her who loves her child,
> and like a wet-nurse,
> you take care of all your creatures on (your) lap.
>
> (1QH^{a} XVII.35–6)

Besides this striking example, there was in Greco-Roman antiquity no cult in which the special relationship between god and worshipper was marked as intensely as in Christianity. There are many passages in the martyrs' *Acts* which show that the early Christians had a close bond with their Saviour. It may suffice here to quote two more passages from Perpetua's *Passion*. Her

brother could suggest to Perpetua that she should ask for a vision because she held 'intimate conversations with the Lord' (4.2: *fabulari cum Domino*) and she walked into the arena as 'a *matrona* of Christ' (18.2). As we saw with the 'communion of saints', once again the situation in the hereafter reflected the situation on earth.[51]

Now the more merciless among you may be getting impatient and wonder: 'what about hell?' The nearest we come to it in Perpetua's vision is in a passage about her deceased brother Dinocrates, whom she suddenly remembered in prison. Having begun to pray she saw him 'appearing from a dark place (along with many others), very hot and thirsty, repugnant to see, with a pale colour, and with the facial cancer visible as when he died' (7.4). After more prayers she saw him again in a vision a few days later, 'clean, well-dressed, healed (*refrigerantem*), a scar where his wound had been' (8.1), but still in the very place where she had seen him first. It has been argued that the place where Dinocrates was staying was hell or, as others have argued, purgatory (section 3), but the identity of the place before and after Dinocrates' healing hardly makes an interpretation as hell very likely. The few details Perpetua supplies about the place – it was dark, hot and crowded – strongly suggests that its image was inspired by her own prison, which she also described as dark, hot and filled with people (3.5–6).[52] Evidently, Dinocrates was not in heaven, but it is impossible to say on the basis of Perpetua's diary what she herself thought about the place where she saw her brother.

The absence of hell from Perpetua's visions does not mean that hell was unknown.[53] On the contrary. At the moment of their death the thought of hell could weigh heavily on the minds of martyrs. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* the following altercation took place between Polycarp and the Roman governor, who said to the martyr: '"Since you are not afraid of the animals, then I shall have you consumed by fire – unless you change your mind." But Polycarp answered: "The fire you threaten me with burns merely for a time and is soon extinguished. It is clear you are ignorant of the fire of everlasting punishment and of the judgment that is to come, which awaits the impious. Why then do you hesitate? Come, do what you will." ' In a letter that the churches of Lyons and Vienne in Gaul wrote to those in Asia and Phrygia in order to inform them about their sufferings during the persecution in 177 it is mentioned that a woman, called Biblis, who had denied Christ, 'once on the rack she came to her senses and awoke as it were from a deep sleep, reminded by that temporal torment of the eternal punishment in Gehenna (Ch. 1.3)'. And in Thessalonica in 304, one of a group of girls, when asked to eat the sacrificial meat and to sacrifice to the gods, said: 'No, I am not prepared to do it for the sake of the almighty God, who has created heaven and earth and the seas and all that is in it. Great is the penalty of eternal torment for those who transgress the word of God.'[54]

Like the resurrection (Ch. 4.2), the roots of hell go back at least to *1 Enoch* (18.14–16).[55] In Christian literature the already mentioned *Apocalypse of Peter*

(*cc*. 7–11 of the Ethiopic translation) is the first to describe in great detail the suffering of fornicating men and women, murderers, those who have procured abortions, slanderers, frauds, usurers, worshippers of idols, girls who had not preserved their virginity before marriage. In short, all those who did not follow the early Christian ideals had to ceaselessly chew their tongues and were tormented by fire – to mention only the less horrible tortures.[56] Comparable descriptions are found in the *Apocalypse of Paul*, which probably originated in the third or fourth century, with the interesting difference that it directs much of its attention to the sufferings of those members of the clergy who had not performed their duties in a righteous manner.[57] Both *Apocalypses* were closely inspired by Jewish traditions.[58]

Gehenna as the valley of fiery hell had been taken over by the New Testament and the early Christians from their Jewish tradition (Ch. 1.3),[59] but its torments were rarely gloated over. In fact, the representation of hell could be rather subdued: according to Perpetua's contemporary, Tertullian (*On the Soul* 55.1), it was a waste space in the interior of the earth. Hell remained harrowing, but Christian literature of the first three centuries contains very few references to hell as a specific place;[60] the Last Judgement did not figure in early Christian epitaphs, and early Christian art did not produce an iconography of hell or the Last Judgement.[61] Evidently, hell became theologically interesting only after the mass conversions caused by the Christian take-over of the Roman empire, whereas early Christian eschatological expectations were overwhelmingly directed towards the promise of salvation, not damnation.

3. The roots and consolidation of purgatory

Unlike hell, purgatory as the place where the souls are purified before definitively entering heaven is not mentioned in our texts. Where and why, then, did the idea originate and why was it eventually officially accepted by the Church?[62] Purgatory has of course long received the attention of scholars, but all previous studies have been surpassed by the imaginative analysis of the French historian Jacques Le Goff, who has studied the development of purgatory from the earliest Judaeo-Christian times until its triumph, which reached its apogee in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.[63] The book has been widely discussed by medievalists, but their critiques have almost exclusively focused on his location of the 'birth of purgatory' in the second half of the twelfth century and the reasons adduced for this development. As they have tended to neglect his picture of the roots of purgatory, we shall first discuss that part of his book before coming to its main thesis.

In his search for the typical characteristics of purgatory, such as a specific place, intercession and purification, Le Goff rightly did not look for Jewish antecedents, since Jewish ideas do not seem to have been of any influence on Christian eschatological speculation in this particular point, even though some ideas about an intermediate state could already be found in the Jewish

writings of the period between the destruction of the Temple in 70 and the revolt of Bar Kochba (132–135). Instead he starts the prehistory of purgatory with Tertullian and the *Passion of Perpetua* but explicitly leaves out Gnosticism, which he seems to consider as a different religion.[64] This position is rather unfortunate, since some Gnostics, such as the authors of the *Apocryphon of John* (27.4–11) and the *Pistis Sophia* (144–7), speak of a process of purification, the latter even of purification by fire.[65] Moreover, such a position misjudges the fact that early orthodox Christian eschatology was partially developed in discussion with the Gnostics. In fact, Irenaeus only began to espouse the doctrine of the subterranean abode for the Christian dead (section 2) in order to bar the Gnostic dead from immediate entry into heaven.[66] And it is this temporary abode for the blessed which Tertullian calls the *refrigerium interim* in his treatise *Against Marcion* (4.34), although the term does not point to a circumscribed space, as has often been suggested,[67] but to the refreshing nature of the stay of the blessed in their subterranean abode.[68] Moreover, this temporary abode is not a kind of purgatory either. The souls are not purified, but those which are less than perfect have to wait a bit longer for their first resurrection and it is not at all clear that Tertullian expected them to suffer retributive pains in the meantime.[69] Le Goff, then, did not notice that Tertullian's view was just one in a whole series of early Christian theologians who denied that the blessed entered heaven immediately after their death.

In his search for a specific place Le Goff understandably looked at the 'dark place' of Perpetua's brother Dinocrates (section 2). However, considering the identity of the place where Dinocrates stays before and after his healing, it is not very likely that we find here a prefiguration of purgatory for exactly the same reason as it is not an image of hell. Moreover, the Christians strongly combated the Greco-Roman view that prematurely deceased children – and Perpetua's brother was only seven years old at the time of his death (7.5) – went to a different place, as we will see in Chapter 6. Finally, contrary to what Le Goff suggests, the fact that Perpetua calls her brother *refrigerantem* after his healing, does not point to Tertullian's *refrigerium interim*, since the verb normally indicates physical well-being in the *Passion*.[70]

The brother was healed through Perpetua's intercession, and Le Goff notes only one more parallel for such an early intercession: the prayer of Thecla in the *Acts of Paul* (29) for the daughter of Queen Tryphaena. In fact, Perpetua may well have read the *Acts of Paul*, as we know that the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* were popular among Carthaginian women.[71] In both cases, it was the prayer of a future martyr which was deemed important and effective. This interpretation is confirmed by an interesting passage in Tertullian's *De pudicitia* (22.1–5), which has been overlooked by Le Goff. In this treatise, which dates to his Montanist period, we find a whole harangue against those people who beseech martyrs to forgive them their sins. The attention paid to the subject clearly demonstrates the supposed power of martyrs.[72] The idea of intercession itself probably stems from the Jewish background of Christianity, since in

both Jewish and early Christian apocalypses exemplary figures, like Ezra or Paul, intercede on behalf of the damned.[73]

One of the effects of the persecutions was the replacement of these exemplary figures by the martyrs. The idea is already found in Origen, although in his work its Jewish origin is still visible,[74] but the elevated status of the martyrs becomes manifest in the funerary practices of the early Christians, who *en masse* wanted to be buried next to, or sometimes even in, their graves. A fine example occurs in the *Acts of Maximilian*, the report of the execution of a young African martyr on 12 March 295. After his martyrdom, a Roman lady, Pomponia, took the body of Maximilian, transported it in her own chariot and buried it next to that of the Church Father Cyprian, who had been executed for his faith in AD 257; she was buried there as well when she died only thirteen days later: clearly, this lady left nothing to chance. But what did she and her fellow Christians expect from the martyrs? The funerary inscriptions leave little doubt in this respect: the martyrs were supposed to 'defend' or to 'intervene' with Christ on behalf of 'their' dead at the moment of the Last Judgement, but they could not effect a transfer before that day, as would become possible in the heyday of the official doctrine of purgatory.[75]

In these early examples, then, we do not find a purgatory *avant la lettre* or a purification of the souls but only the possibility of intercession. Purification of souls first became a theme in the work of those Alexandrian theologians who were steeped in Greek philosophy, Clement and Origen.[76] In his classic commentary on *Aeneid* VI, the German scholar Eduard Norden (1868–1941) connected the idea with Greek predecessors, such as Plutarch and Posidonius,[77] and Le Goff points to the famous verses about purification in *Aeneid* VI (741–2, 745–7),[78] but it is not at all clear that these sources influenced the earliest Church Fathers. Both Clement and Origen knew about the practice of purification from literature (Ch. 7.1) and, perhaps, real life. They hardly needed Plutarch to give them their ideas.

If, then, I cannot follow Le Goff in his search for the very beginnings of purgatory,[79] what about his views about the actual 'birth' of purgatory? As his point of departure Le Goff took a linguistic event that had previously aroused little scholarly interest, that is, the absence of the noun *purgatorium* as a substantive before about 1170. Although the foundations of purgatory had been laid by Augustine, with his differentiation between a purifying fire and the fire of the Last Judgement,[80] and by Gregory the Great, with his highly popular *Dialogues*,[81] it was only this invention, so Le Goff argues, that located the purgation of souls in the subterranean space of the medieval world. Whereas people previously spoke of an *ignis purgatorius* and had rather vague ideas about its whereabouts,[82] the new noun demonstrated the *spatialisation* of this process of purification, officially accepted by the Church during the Lateran Council in 1254. Le Goff explains this introduction of an intermediate stage between heaven and hell by a general change in medieval society at the turn of the millennium. Instead of the usual binary patterns of God and Satan,

poor and powerful, virtues and vices, clergy and laity, he suggested that ternary and even septenary patterns started to take over, such as a new division of society into three classes (clergy, nobles and peasant masses) and the appearance of the seven sacraments or seven capital sins.[83]

Criticisms of Le Goff's book have been rather ambivalent. The originality and the scope of the book has been warmly praised, but no serious review has accepted its main thesis.[84] Rightly so. Le Goff not only overlooked the fact that *purgatorium* is already attested as the term for 'purge-pipes' on the Norman plan of the monastic offices of the Cathedral of Canterbury (*ca.* 1165 AD),[85] but also does not demonstrate anywhere that his sociological changes necessarily led to change in understanding views of normative afterlife. In fact, the new division postulated by Le Goff is not even always three-fold, but in the case of the famous *Purgatory of Saint Patrick* four-fold.[86] On the other hand, a non-specialist can only be struck by the fact that, although reviewers have pointed to the influence of scholasticism and monasticism or changes in penitential theology,[87] none of them has managed to explain the sudden popularity of the noun *purgatorium* or why the idea of purgatory as a specific place was taken up by the Church so quickly.

We may therefore be excused for offering a new suggestion. Until now we have stressed several times that attention should always be given to the precise historical context of important changes, such as relating belief in reincarnation to increasing marginalisation of the aristocracy (Ch. 2.3) and in resurrection to the Seleucid persecutions (Ch. 4.2). We have also pointed to the importance of competition in explaining religious changes (Ch. 4.4). Can we apply these insights to the problem of purgatory? What was happening around 1140 AD which could have provoked the sudden rise of purgatory as a specific place?

If we define the problem in this way, our attention is irresistibly drawn to an important religious event of the time, the rise of Catharism. The precise origin of this movement, which constituted one of the more serious threats to normative Western Christendom, is still unclear.[88] Even the origin of its name has not yet been definitively clarified. In the book that put the post-war study of Catharism on a new footing, Arno Borst has stated that the 'heretics' called themselves Cathars from the Greek word *katharos*, but he is evidently mistaken,[89] since Cathars do not apply the name to themselves in any of our sources.[90] In fact, Ekbert of Schönau, who was the first to use the name 'Cathars' (1163 AD) in his *Sermones contra Catharos*, relates that they call themselves *Ecclesia Dei*, 'Church of God'.[91] The most recent standard study of the Cathars, on the other hand, ascribes the invention to Ekbert, but this also cannot be true, since Ekbert says of the heretics he is concerned with: 'They are those whom they generally call Cathars.'[92] In other words, the designation already was in use among his fellow clerics and monastics; similarly, it were the Romans who gave the name 'Christians' to the followers of Jesus (Appendix 1). That is why a different explanation is preferable.

Our starting point should be the fact that the term 'Cathari' has always been known throughout the Middle Ages. Originally, it was the self-designation of the Novatianists, who took their name from the mid-third-century Roman 'anti-pope' Novatian. Novatian was probably the first Roman theologian to write in Latin and coined such fateful terms as *praedestinatio* and *incarnari*. He also advocated that Christians should remain *katharoi*, 'pure'. Like the Donatists to whom they are sometimes compared, the Novatianists denied reconciliation to those Christians who had lapsed during persecutions.[93] This intransigence turned them into the heretics *par excellence* in the eyes of early Councils and Church Fathers.[94] In the West we can follow the knowledge and usage of the term through the centuries from Late Antiquity to Ekbert: Isidore of Seville (*ca*. 560–636: *Etym*. 8.5.28), Raban Maur (*ca*. 780–856),[95] Paschasius Radbertus (*ca*. 790–860),[96] Humbert of Silva Candida (*ca*. 1000–1061),[97] Peter Damian (*ca*. 1007–1072),[98] Landulf Senior (d. after 1085),[99] Bernold of Constance (d. 1100),[100] Ivo of Chartres (*ca*. 1040–1116),[101] Gratian (d. *ca*. 1160)[102] and Peter Lombard (*ca*. 1100–1160)[103] – to name only a few.

In the High Middle Ages it was normal to designate new dualist movements with names of heresies familiar from Late Antiquity, such as Arianism and Manichaeism.[104] It is therefore not surprising that Ekbert's contemporaries applied the name Cathari to the dualist heretics they had encountered. Ekbert himself undoubtedly associated the name with the ancient movement as mentioned in Augustine's *De haeresibus* (38), where the bishop of Hippo elucidates the movement of the Novatiani/Cathari, since he appends an excerpt of this treatise to his *Sermones*. We know that Guibert of Nogent had also used it in connection with heresy (see n. 104), just as Humbert (2.34), Gratian and Peter Lombard, directly or indirectly, had consulted Augustine: all three mention the fact that the Novatiani/Cathari opposed a remarriage of widows – a detail mentioned only by Augustine. Although this aspect of the ancient Cathari, then, probably led theologians to apply the old name to the new movement, since we know that the Cathars too rejected remarriage,[105] it does not explain the 'success' of the term 'Cathars'. The reason may well have been the folk etymology that connected Cathars with cats (*cat(t)us*) and the allegation that Cathars kissed the behind of the cat, 'in whose shape, as they say, Satan appears to them', an allegation already attested for the twelfth century.[106] The other names used for the dualists did not conjure up such a powerful image and may therefore not have caught on.

The reasons for the popularity of the Cathar movement are not yet fully understood, but important factors must have been the model life (at least in theory) of their 'perfects', which appealed to a population appreciative of poverty and self-sacrifice; the possibilities it gave to women were perhaps not as great as is sometimes claimed but are certainly not to be underestimated, and the storytelling of its convoluted teachings, which clearly enjoyed a great popularity among the Cathar faithful.[107] These teachings need not concern us here, except for their views of the afterlife. According to the Cathars, the soul

was locked in the body as in a prison,[108] a clear echo of the old Orphic teaching (Ch. 2.2) which experienced a long popularity well, into the Middle Ages.[109] Through a virtuous life the soul could become a higher being via reincarnation.[110] One of the 'perfects' related that he had been a horse and found a shoe which he had cast off in his previous life.[111] It was only by the possession of a valid *consolamentum*, the Cathar 'sacrament' for the dying, that the faithful would go to the heaven of the good creation. Evidently, this ritual of the *consolamentum* guaranteed instant salvation without the fear of hell. Whereas the early Church had confined public penance for serious sins to once in a lifetime,[112] from the time of Augustine, Christians had increasingly become concerned with salvation from sins at the moment of death.[113] With their sacrament Catharism scored best at this point by offering clear hope.[114]

At the moment that Catharism spread from the Rhinelands to Southern France we find the two oldest certain testimonies of *purgatorium* as a noun in a Cistercian milieu, namely in sermons by Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153) and of Guerric of Igny (d. before 1155),[115] who may well have taken the term from the 'purge-pipes' (above) of their daily environment. In 1143 Bernard preached against the heretics and in 1145 even conducted a mission in the Languedoc against the Cathars. The origin of the *spatialisation* of purgatory in the circle of Clairvaux could thus perfectly fit the historical context.

Is it possible that the Church took Catharism into account when it created purgatory?[116] The data we have do not enable us to give a firm answer to this question, but a feeling of urgency would explain the energy invested in purgatory, a concept that would soon be pushed down the throat of Eastern Christians as well.[117] The massive force of the Church's teaching is illustrated by the fact that already around 1300 the last Cathars had to some degree appropriated the doctrine of purgatory.[118]

4. The roots of Christian afterlife

It is clear that for a long time Christians continued to develop their views on life hereafter, but it is also clear that at the time of Perpetua the outlines of traditional Christian afterlife were already visible, even though virtually all its elements would remain objects of discussion for many centuries to come. Some of these elements came straight from the New Testament, such as heaven,[119] the Christocentric quality of Christian hope, the stress on the resurrection, the fear of the Last Judgement and the fiery nature of hell. Behind the New Testament there was of course the contemporary Jewish tradition – or, better, traditions,[120] since in this matter opinions varied widely, as the ancient Jewish epitaphs and the literature of the Second Temple Period show.[121] These influences should not conceal that there were also important differences. To name only two, in Luke's story of the crucifixion it is a criminal who is invited into Paradise, which is in line with Jesus' attention to publicans, prostitutes and other sinners but impossible to parallel in

contemporary Judaism, where the place of honour is usually given to the righteous. Moreover, the early Christian tradition rarely limits the number of those eligible for a place in the heareafter, whereas, for example, in *4 Ezra* (7.47, 8.1) it is stressed that the numbers will be only few, a view also found in the Jewish-influenced (section 2) *Apocalypse of Paul* (20). In addition to the Jewish background, contemporary Greco-Roman views of the afterlife also made their contributions, such as the idea of heaven as a *locus amoenus*, the prominence of light, the soul–body opposition and the location of heaven beyond the stars. Typically Christian, on the other hand, was the presence of a multitude of blessed and the affectionate relationship between God, or Christ, and the blessed.

Yet a simple enumeration of themes does not explain why they were developed and gradually integrated into a comprehensive set of doctrines. For this development the persecutions must have been a most important factor, since they raised the question as to what would happen with the martyrs after their violent deaths. Another important factor was competition with the Gnostics, the Marcionites (if to a much lesser extent),[122] and, perhaps, the Cathars. Discussions with these opponents forced the orthodox Christians to clarify and, if necessary, to adapt their own views or even to invent new ones. Expositions of Christian eschatology should never forget that even its most cherished hopes were not made in heaven but only gradually found on earth.[123]

6

ANCIENT NECROMANCY AND MODERN SPIRITUALISM

Until now we have discussed the soul and various aspects of the life hereafter, but we have hardly come into contact with the dead themselves. The idea might look strange to some, but the practice of consulting the dead is universal. Even in our own culture there are still people who claim that the dead can give valuable advice to the living, the so-called spiritualists. The ancient Greeks and Romans also tried to establish contact with the dead in order to ask their opinion about pressing problems of the living.[1] It thus seems a worthwhile enterprise to compare these two approaches to the world of the dead, ancient necromancy and modern spiritualism, in order to bring out more sharply mutual similarities and differences.[2] The problem has hardly ever been investigated in any depth and my answers are surely only preliminary. We will discuss a number of obvious questions. Were there specific places put aside for approaching the dead? What kinds of person consulted the dead and what were their problems? How were the dead to be approached: did the living have to perform certain rituals or was access to the world of the shades dead easy? And, last but not least, could anybody approach the dead or were certain specialists needed? We will first study the Greek testimony (section 1), then the Roman and Hellenistic evidence (section 2) and conclude with a look at modern practices (section 3).

1. Greek necromancy

The oldest Greek example of necromancy occurs in Book 11 of Homer's *Odyssey*. When Odysseus stays with the goddess Circe, she tells him to go to the underworld to consult the seer Teiresias about his return (10.503–40). In order to reach this goal Odysseus has to travel to the ends of the world. The location is probably an invention of the poet – not least because the ends of the world are not a very specific place. It has therefore persuasively been argued by many critics – from Maximus of Tyre (14.2) and Eustathius (1667.63, 1671.31) to modern scholars – that Homer has reshaped an earlier epic tradition in which the entry to the underworld was located in Thesprotia.[3]

Homer's text provides a clear indication in favour of this interpretation, since Circe specifies that the ends of the world are there 'where the Pyriphlegethon and Cocytus (which is a branch of the Styx) flow into the Acheron. There is a rock and the joining-place of two loud-sounding rivers' (*Od.* 10.513–15). At first sight this looks like an arbitrary, imaginary place, but the second-century traveller Pausanias thought otherwise. In an account of the adventures of Theseus he mentions that the hero was kept prisoner in Thesprotia in Northern Greece. Here 'near Kichyros lie an Acherousian lake and a river Acheron, and the detestable stream Cocytus. I think Homer must have seen this region and in his very daring poetry about Hades taken the names of rivers from the rivers in Thesprotia' (1.17.5, tr. P. Levi).[4] The connection of Thesprotia with Hades, then, must have been relatively old, although we know of Theseus' descent into the underworld in Thesprotia only via a rationalised version about his visit to the Molossian (= Thesprotian) King Aidoneus (= Hades) and his wife Persephone.[5]

In concordance with the instructions of Circe (10.527–9), the necromantic scene seems to be acted out just before the entry to Hades. However, other indications suggest a stay within Hades, such as Elpenor's words that Odysseus will return from Hades (11.69), thus reflecting Homer's somewhat uneasy combination of a necromancy proper and a descent into the underworld.[6] To activate the souls of the dead, Odysseus digs a pit with his sword, pours out honey mixed with milk, 'sweet wine' and water, and sprinkles 'white barley-meal' over them. He then promised to sacrifice a bull for the dead and a black sheep for Teiresias on his return to Ithaca. Having thus propitiated the dead, he cut the throat of the ram and the black ewe that Circe had provided into the pit. When the dark blood flowed into the pit, the souls of the dead came up from Hades. Finally, he told his comrades to skin and burn the victims and to pray to Hades and Persephone (11.23–47). Aeschylus' *Persians*, written in 472 BC, contains another example of a necromantic procedure (598–680).[7] Here Queen Atossa instructs the Persian elders to raise Darius from his grave instead of invoking him from the underworld. After she has brought garlands of flowers and the libations of milk, honey, water, unmixed wine and oil (611–18), the elders invoke Earth, Hermes and Hades to send up his soul (629–30). When the king appears, he mentions the beating of the ground (683) and especially stresses the effect of the 'necromantic cries' (687), in obedience of which he has come up (697), but which he abruptly curtails when he has had enough of it (705).[8]

Parts of these literary descriptions were certainly familiar to an early Greek audience. The dead customarily did not receive the normal Greek drink of wine mixed with water but 'abnormal' drinks, such as milk, water or unmixed wine, just as the Olympian gods as a rule received white, not black, animals.[9] The same divinities found in the *Persians* are also invoked in a fairly recently discovered fragment (F 273a Radt) of Aeschylus' *Psychagôgoi* and may have been part of current necromantic rituals. And regarding the beating of the

ground the audience will have remembered that in the *Iliad* Althaea pounds the earth when calling upon Hades and Persephone (IX.568–70).

Other elements, though, may have looked strange. It has repeatedly been observed that the digging of the pit with a sword, the sacrificing of a black sheep and the sprinkling of groats in the Odyssean ritual closely parallel Hittite purification rituals, in which deities of the underworld, not the dead, are summoned up.[10] Here Oriental influence seems likely and was perhaps meant to contribute to the creation of a frightening atmosphere. Necromancy was widely practised in the ancient Near East and we will meet another example before long (section 2).[11] It remains impossible to know to what extent these sacrifices exactly reflected contemporary necromantic practices, but it surely would be a mistake to think that literature necessarily mirrors reality. In fact, the little we know about contemporary necromancy does not give the impression that Homer and Aeschylus were much concerned with a 'thick description' of this ritual.

In Archaic and Classical Greece various places were known for their oracles of the dead, technically called a *nekyomanteion*, 'the place to consult the dead', or *psychopompeion*, 'the place where the souls are guided'. The most famous was in Thesprotia (below). Others existed in Arcadian Phigaleia (Paus. 3.17.9) and Hermione in the Argolid,[12] in Asia Minor in Heraclea Pontica, which also had a river called Acheron,[13] and in Italian Cumae, which most likely was the setting of Aeschylus' *Psychagôgoi*, perhaps written after his visit to Sicily.[14] Sophocles, who was not unacquainted with southern Italy either – witness his reference to the cult of Dionysos in Italy in the *Antigone* (1118–19)[15] – probably mentions the same oracle (F 748 Radt). It still seems to have inspired Vergil in his description of Aeneas' descent into the underworld in the famous book VI of the *Aeneid*.[16] The list suggests that consulting the dead at a specific oracle was not uncommon in the Greek world. Moreover, the presence of underworld rivers, such as the Styx and the Acheron, in the vicinity of several of these oracles shows that originally the location was closely connected with an entry into the underworld: clearly, the dead did not have far to travel.

Regarding the enquirers and their problems there are, unfortunately, only two cases about which we have a bit of information in the Archaic and Classical periods. Our first example is the Corinthian tyrant Periander who, having mislaid something that a friend had left in his charge, sent envoys to the Thesprotian oracle to inquire about its whereabouts. The ghost of his wife Melissa, whom he had murdered despite her being pregnant, appeared but said that she would not tell, since she was cold and naked: apparently Periander had not given her a proper burial.[17] In typical tyrant's fashion Periander then had all the women of the town assembled in the temple of Hera, where they were stripped naked and their clothes burnt.[18] The anecdote is related to illustrate the disgusting behaviour of tyrants, but it also shows us what kind of questions could be asked in the Archaic period. The second example concerns the Spartan king Pausanias, who at the beginning of the

fifth century enquired about a free-born girl, Kleonike, whom he had selected for a night of pleasure but murdered instead. When he saw her often in his dreams, he visited an oracle of the dead – the place is alternatively identified as Heraclea Pontica or Phigalia – where she appeared to him and advised him to return to Sparta where he died a violent death. In general, the fate of those who had died abroad seems to have been a regular item in the consultations of these oracles, but our information is too limited to make any sweeping statement in this respect.[19] Consultation of the dead at a public oracle, then, was a perfectly respectable activity in Archaic and Classical Greece.

Almost none of these oracles has left any traces, but a series of archaeological campaigns has fortunately unearthed the impressive remains of the Thesprotian oracle, which in antiquity was so well known that some localised here the descent of Orpheus in his vain expedition to recover his wife Eurydice.[20] The material remains do not go back beyond the fourth century, but the oracle must have been older, since Herodotus reports its consultation by Periander during the Archaic period. And indeed, the crypt seems to have been built on the place of a former, older cave. No findings, though, are later than the second century BC, and it seems therefore reasonable to connect its destruction with Roman punititive measures after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC. Considering that the Romans abducted most of the Epirotes into slavery, it is understandable that no attempts were made to restore the oracle to its former function, and Pausanias speaks about it as a thing of the past (9.30.6).

The ancient building was situated on a thoroughly flattened hilltop. It measured 62 × 46 metres and its size must have looked massive to the travellers coming from afar. This appearance of inaccessibility will have prevented the idea that the dead could freely arise from the underworld to swarm over the land. Inside, a number of corridors with many doors must have impressed and intimidated the visitor. Given the absence of literary sources we can only speculate about the required preparations. It seems likely that candidates for consultation had to stay at the oracle for a while. Lucian's Menippos had to prepare for a period of 29 days, whereas in the oracle of Trophonius in Boeotian Lebadeia, the enquirer had first to spend a number of days in the oracle on a diet with much meat, but without hot baths (Paus. 9.39.5). Strictly spoken, this oracle was not a *nekyomanteion,* but it came fairly close, since it furnishes the route to Lucian's Menippos for his return from the underworld to the upper world.[21] The excavations at the Thesprotian oracle have brought to light many bones of cows, sheep, and pigs, which were probably meant for the living,[22] but also the carbonised remains of barley, wheat, broad beans, lathyrus and, probably, hemp, which were clearly meant for the dead. The remains suggest that here, too, the enquirers had to stay a while at the oracle before being permitted to consult the dead.

Unfortunately we hardly know anything about the 'clergy' of the Thesprotian oracle, but the building must have required quite a few people to be run in a proper manner. Some of them will have given the final permission

to the candidate and may have accompanied the enquirer up to the entry into the crypt. In the case of Odysseus, his comrades played the role of helpers, but in Phigaleia and Cumae, as we know from later times, there were officials called *psychagôgoi*, who also appear in the title of the drama of Aeschylus already mentioned.[23] In the oracle of Trophonius, there were two boys, the so-called Hermai, who guided the enquirers, who changed into fine linen clothes and carried honey-cakes in their hands. The names refer to Hermes Psychopompos, the guide of the souls, a function which the god had acquired in the later Archaic period (Ch. 1.2).[24] In this capacity, the god also seems to have been worshipped in the Thesprotian oracle, since both at the beginning and the end of the actual corridor to the crypt the excavators found a heap of stones. As travellers in Greece often added stones to existing heaps in order to express their appreciation for the god's help, Hermes was probably imagined as extending his protecting hand to Thesprotian enquirers of the dead as well.[25]

The preparations and the pressing nature of the enquirers' problems must have put the enquirers into the right mood and the consultation could now finally begin. In the Thesprotian oracle there was a hole in the floor of a room in the middle of the building, which gave access to the crypt where the actual consultation took place. Pausanias (9.39.10) relates that in the oracle of Trophonius the candidate first had to descend via a light, narrow ladder before being 'drawn into a hole', and a ladder was probably also used in Thesprotia. Originally, caves may well have been the traditional place for a necromancy, since both in Cumae and in Lebadeia consultation took place in a cave, of which the darkness and dampness must have contributed to the general impressive atmosphere of the oracle.[26] But what happened once the enquirer was on his own in the cave?

The Church Father Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.1) exhorts the faithful as follows: 'Don't bother with godless temples or accesses to subterranean spaces full of magical tricks, such as the Thesprotian kettle.' The passage suggests that the personnel of the oracle used the sound of a kettle during the appearance of the dead or banged a kettle during the period of preparation to create a spooky atmosphere. However, in Thesprotia the priests did more than just banging a kettle. In the innermost chamber of the storage room, the excavators found a corroded heap of large iron wheels and several smaller bronze wheels, of which some were hook-toothed, such as might have been used in a crane worked by a windlass to prevent its running backwards. These were the means used in Greek theatres to make the gods appear on high. As the excavators also found jars with sulphur, it strongly looks as if the 'clergy' of the oracle produced apparitions in the crypt illuminated by sulphur. A study of 1980 comments: 'This is *late* Greek; and when priestcraft resorts to such (literally) brazen trickery, its society is surely "on the way out." '[27] Nothing is further from the truth in this judgement by a pair of scholars who apply modern notions of religious propriety to ancient Greece. The oracle, as we saw, dates back at least to the fourth century BC and nothing suggests that these

were late inventions. In Eleusis, too, a fire was probably produced at the end of the ritual, and everywhere the local 'clergy' may have produced apparitions via secret holes in the wall, as ancient magicians also sometimes did.[28] Inner sincerity was not a necessary qualification for proper religion in ancient Greece.

In addition to these public oracles we start to hear about private necromantic seances in the fifth century as well. Had they always been available for those who could not afford the journey to a proper oracle or did private necromancers appear only with the rise of a more private religion in the fifth century? Did Homer draw on private rituals in his depiction of Circe and Odysseus, just as Aeschylus did in his *Persians?* The possibility cannot be completely excluded, but we have no indications for early private operators in our sources. The transition from public oracles to private necromancers may have been promoted by cases such as that of the Spartan king Pausanias. After he had been starved to death in the temple of Athena Chalcioecus, his shade kept pestering the Spartans. In order to appease him, they sent for *psychagôgoi* from Italy, surely those of the oracle at Cumae, who finally succeeded in drawing his shade away from the temple.[29] Can it be that some of these conjurers 'went private' after this event or that others were inspired by their example?

We simply do not know, but in the later fifth century private conjurors were clearly around. When, in Euripides' *Alcestis* (1127–8), Admetus wonders whether his veiled wife is not 'an apparition of the underworld', Heracles indignantly answers that he is not in the business of necromancy.[30] In the *Birds* (1553–64), Aristophanes makes fun of Socrates by representing him as conjuring up spirits near a lake (probably Lake Avernus in Campania) and letting him sacrifice to that end a camel lamb. A most curious case can be found in Dodona, where from the sixth to the third century enquirers put their questions on very thin strips of lead, on one of which a group of people asks: 'should they really consult Dorios the *psychagôgos*.'[31] We would love to know what Dodona would have thought of the competition, but, as is usually the case, an answer has not survived. Plato abhorred all such private religious activities and in his *Laws* (10.909b) proposed solitary confinement for life for those who 'fool many of the living by pretending to raise the dead'.

2. Roman and Hellenistic necromancy

After Plato, our Greek sources are more or less silent about necromancy, but an upsurge in interest appears in the last century of the Roman republic. Originally, consulting the dead had been foreign to Roman culture, and it can not be a coincidence that we first hear of the practice when Roman society was under extreme pressure through proscriptions and civil wars. The poet Laberius put a mime *Necyomantia* on stage, the title of which clearly shows Greek influence.[32] The fact that Varro thought it necessary to mention necromancy in his discussion of Numa's hydromancy shows that the practice

had already drawn his attention.[33] And indeed, Latin poetry of the second half of the first century BC abounds with references to necromancy.[34] In this period it is normally ascribed to witches and magicians, but some dabblers in necromancy actually came from the highest Roman circles, such as Appius Claudius Pulcher and Vatinius.[35] In a short history of magic, the older Pliny rightly observes that it was not unknown to the early Romans, witness the Twelve Tables. He ascribes the origin of magic in general, and necromancy in particular, to the Persians: it was their magus Ostanes, an advisor to king Xerxes, who had imported magic into Greece.[36] The charge is clearly incorrect, but it well reflects the aversion of the large majority of the Roman upper class to magic practices.

Even less favourable was the first century of the Principate, when the emperor's feeling of uncertainty reflected itself in the condemnation of magic *tout court*. It is therefore remarkable that it is precisely in the literature of this century that we find an unprecedented concentration of elaborate scenes of necromancy, whereas earlier authors mostly had limited themselves to a few verses. The fashion was probably started by the Stoic philosopher Seneca, whose Teiresias calls up the shade of Laios in his *Oedipus* (530–658). The debt to Homer and Greek tragedy is clear, but at the same time Seneca derived from Virgil some of his setting and abstractions, such as Furor and Horror (590–1), both of whom appeared to Creon.[37] Homer and Vergil also served as examples for the necromancies in the Flavian epics of Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus and Statius, but they were all much more restrained in their descriptions than Seneca.[38]

The most interesting description from the point of view of the historian of magic is found in Lucan, another Stoic, whose *Catachthonion* has unfortunately been lost, but who in his *Pharsalia* (6.419–830) surpassed all others in the luridness of his scenes. He took his inspiration from a historical anecdote, which is related by Pliny (*NH* 7.178). During Sextus Pompeius' resistance against the forces of Caesar, his troops captured a Caesarian supporter, Gabienus. Sextus ordered him to be killed and he was taken away to the beach where his throat was slit. Yet he did not die immediately, but at the end of the day he told messengers of Sextus that he had been sent back from the underworld, *ab inferis*, to declare that the Pompeian cause was the just one.[39] Lucan transforms this scene in a picture of the worst possible witch, Erictho, who stands for everything that was despised and feared by contemporary society. Among the corpses on the battlefield she searched for one whose lungs were still intact so that he was able to speak. Having found a suitable corpse she dragged it to her cave, opened it and filled it with hot blood. After the necessary spells the soldier finally revived and duly gave his prophecies. In the end, being drugged again, he obligingly climbed upon the pyre the witch had prepared for him.[40]

Unlike other authors, Lucan clearly knew something about magic as it was being practised, not just from literary models. For example, before Erictho

began her long invocation of the infernal powers, 'she started to utter sounds that at first were confused and discordant, jarring and alien, weird, not like the speech of a human. Barking of dogs, wolf's howl, the dismal notes of the plaintive owls that mope by day and of those that screech in the nighttime' (6.686–9, tr. P. Widdows). The same use of animals we find in the magical papyri of Egypt, where a magician uses the sounds of birds (*PGM* XIII.139ff). Similarly, when Erictho's first invocation failed, she uttered threats to the Furies (750), threats that we also find in the magical papyri (*PGM* II.50–5, IV.1035–46). Finally, Erictho purportedly used the bodies of children, young boys or criminals condemned to the gallows. It is precisely these categories, the *aôroi* and *biothanatoi*, which frequently recur in descriptions of magic, since the Greeks and Romans believed that they did not receive a proper place in the hereafter and therefore could be more easily called up.[41] It seems clear, then, that Lucan was well acquainted with proper magical texts.

How do we explain this concentration of gruesome scenes of this particular moment of time? Richard Gordon has suggested that the reason for this development was the fact that in the iconography of the period the emperor was represented as virtually the sole sacrificer in public contexts. This monopoly of piety led to emergence of an enemy within, according to Gordon, 'whose pleasure lay in the perversion of sacrifice for unholy ends'.[42] There may be an element of truth in this explanation, but, if so, only a small one, since it does not explain why exactly this led to necromancy. In addition to the typically Stoic interest in divination,[43] it seems more persuasive to think of the feelings of uncertainty that led many first-century emperors to put members of the upper-class to death. The morbid atmosphere of the time can hardly be separated from its morbid literature. Considering its materials, necromancy must have inevitably drawn attention as the worst feared form of magic. And indeed, we find it as a charge from emperors, such as Tiberius, against aristocrats, and from historians, such as Pliny and Suetonius, against emperors; later magnates were even accused of having first murdered their 'shady' mediums.[44]

Fortunately, the sand of Egypt has given us various examples of necromantic texts. The Egyptians enjoyed a great name in things magical,[45] and as with the Persians (above), an important reason for their reputation will have been their being different. On the other hand, the Romans ruled Egypt since the death of Cleopatra and there is no reason that they would not have known of the flourishing market in magic in the country, as is shown by the literally hundreds of spells found on papyri. From the beginning of the Roman empire we start to find Egypt also connected with necromancy, although the practice is clearly older. Pliny (*NH* 30.18) mentions that in his time a famous teacher of grammar, Apion, the protagonist of Josephus' *Against Apion*, had called up shades in order to ask Homer for the name of his country and his parents. But the result was apparently not very encouraging, since Pliny stresses that Apion did not dare to publicise the answer. In a well-known Hermetic text, Thessalos, a name which strongly suggests magic (Ch. 3.3), goes to Egyptian

Thebes to consult Asclepius, where the priest asks him whether he wants to speak to a divinity or the soul of a dead person.[46] Apuleius also used this Egyptian reputation in his *Metamorphoses*. After a wife was accused of having murdered her husband but protested her innocence, the help was invoked of an Egyptian, Zatchlas (not, incidentally, an existing Egyptian name), who placed a herb on the mouth and the chest of the corpse. The dead husband immediately sat up, beseeched the necromancer to be left in peace and, after the necessary threats (above), indicted his wife.[47]

Apuleius' passage suggests that necromancy was a popular subject in his time. This is confirmed by the fact that Lucian parodied the practice in his *Loves of Lies* (15), where a rich youth wants to seduce the married woman Chrysis. So he hired a Hyperborean magician, who dug a pit at about midnight and not only summoned the deceased father, who of course first disapproved of the affair, but also Hecate together with Cerberus, and, moreover, brought the moon down. He then made a little Cupid from clay who flew away and fetched Chrysis. The whole affair cost the youth quite a fortune, although the lady, so Lucian makes clear, could have easily been had very cheaply.[48]

As the land of necromancers, Egypt still figures in two third-century novels, the one pagan and the other Christian.[49] In Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (6.14–5), an old woman consulted a dead son about the fate of his vanished brother. After she had offered the usual libations of milk, honey, and wine, made a kind of voodoo doll and implored the moon, the corpse told his mother with a barely audible voice that she would not see her son again. Moreover, because of her magical practices she soon would die the violent death that is in store for all magicians. In the Christian *Recognitiones* (1.5), Clement mentions that he went to Egypt to consult a necromancing priest 'as if I wanted to inquire into some piece of business, but actually in order to find out whether the soul is immortal' – a nice Christian twist to his magical enterprise.

Unfortunately for us, Christians wrote much less about necromancy than one might have expected. After all, the Old Testament furnishes a splendid example in *1 Samuel* 28, which relates that the first king of the Israelites, Saul, was facing the Philistines for a decisive battle. Having become extremely afraid about the outcome Saul tried to consult the Lord, but his dreams, oracles and prophets were of no avail. At his wits' end, he asked his servants for a medium, who was not easy to procure, since, as the text tells us, the king had removed all diviners and seers from his kingdom. However, apparently there was still one left, a woman in En Dor. Saul disguised himself by putting on different clothes and travelled in the night to her. Having sworn not to betray her, he asked her to evoke the shade of Samuel, the prophet who had made him king of Israel. When the shade of the old man appeared, the woman realised the true nature of the enquirer, but the king asked her to continue with her conjuring. After the 'witch' had succeeded, the old prophet foretold Saul the coming end of himself and his sons on the next day. And indeed, after their victory the Philistines hung the bodies of Saul and his sons on the walls of Beth

Shean, the later Scythopolis, one of the most splendid excavations of a classical site to be visited anywhere nowadays.

This text, which shows a number of similarities with the evocation of Darius in the *Persians*,[50] greatly intrigued the Church Fathers, who extensively commented on the passage. As they did not believe in the power of oracles,[51] nor in the appearance of shades, they explained in general the appearance of Samuel as a demon, a trick or simply denied that the prophet himself could have come up from the dead.[52] On the whole they therefore do not supply us with interesting details, but often repeat the pagan literary clichés.[53] For example, Pionius, a Christian martyr who was executed round AD 250 in Smyrna, explained the apparition of Samuel as a trick of demons from the underworld, that assumed the likeness of the prophet.[54]

Despite his unconvincing biblical exegesis, Pionius (*Mart. Pion*. 13.8) also produces a highly interesting piece of information. According to him, the Jews not only claimed that Christ was a human being and executed as a criminal, but they also claimed that Christ was evoked with the cross in a necromancy. Considering the representation of necromancers as people in search of bodies of criminals such as we find, for example, in Lucan, it was probably Christ's execution as a criminal that made this claim possible. At first sight one might be tend to consider Pionius' report as a typical case of religious slander, but in the Babylonian *Talmud* we find a story that a certain Onqelos, a nephew of the Emperor Titus, had evoked Jesus via necromancy;[55] in fact, several rabbis practised necromancy.[56] The publication in 1966 of a reconstructed Jewish handbook on magic, which probably dates to the early fourth century, but of which the magical material is clearly older, even provides detailed instructions for the questioning of a ghost and speaking with spirits.[57]

Apparently, in Smyrna the relations between Jews and Christians were tense. The report of the martyrdom of Polycarp (*Mart. Polyc*. 12.2, 13.1), the old Smyrnaean bishop who had been burned at the stake a century earlier, mentions that the Jews played a role in his persecution. Pionius (*Mart. Pion*. 13.1) also suggests that the Jews tried to profit from the Christian persecutions. It is highly unusual to find such an insight into the religious war of propaganda between Jews and Christians, which must have raged in more than one city during the first centuries of Christianity.

It remains extremely difficult to disentangle reality from representation in these reports, but Pliny's notice clearly shows that in Egypt in the beginning of the first century AD necromancy was apparently freely practised. Interest in necromancy was still very much alive in the third century. This is illustrated by the publication early last century of a papyrus from the conclusion of Book XVIII of Julius Africanus' *Kestoi* with the necromantic scene of the *Odyssey* (11.34–50), elaborated with a kind of magical hymn. According to the author, Homer or the Pisistratids had left out the hymn! As the hymn mentions not only Jaweh but also the ancient Egyptian gods Anubis, Phtah and Phre, the author evidently thought it necessary to 'update' Homer with contemporary

magical material in order to make the passage more interesting to his readers.[58]

In the fourth century there even was an industrious production of magical papyri – in fact, dozens of them are dated to that century – and in one of the most famous of them, a papyrus of the Bibliothèque Nationale, we find various spells connected with necromancy. To give an idea of the content of these spells, I will quote one with the title 'Spell of Attraction of King Pitys over any skull cup.[59] *His prayer of petition to Helios*':

> I call upon you , lord Helios, and your holy angels on this day, in this very hour: Preserve me, NN, for I am THENOR, and you are holy angels, guardians of the ARDIMALECHA. And ORORO MISREN NEPHO ADONAI AUEBOTHI ABATHARAI THOBEUA SOULMAI SOULMAITH ROUTREROUTEN OPHREOPHRI OLCHAMAOTH OUTE SOUTEATH MONTRO ELAT CHOUMIOI LATHOTH OTHETH, I beg you, lord Helios, hear me NN and grant me power over the spirit of this man who died a violent death, from whose tent I hold [this], so that I may keep him with me, NN, as helper and avenger for whatever business I crave from him.
>
> (*PGM* IV.1928–54, tr. E. N. O'Neil)

After this spell in which we easily recognise the usual piling up of divine names by which the magician shows his immense knowledge of the divine world, the papyrus also supplies various texts of enquiries which the magician can put to the skull, of which I will quote the shortest:

> **Pitys the Thessalian's spell for questioning corpses**: On a flax leaf write these things: AZEL BALEMACHO (12 letters).

Interestingly, there is also a prescription for the ink of the recipe:

> **Ink**: [Made] from red ochre, burnt myrrh, juice of fresh wormwood, evergreen, and flax. Write [on the leaf] and put it in the mouth [of the corpse].
>
> (*PGM* IV.2140–4, tr. W. C. Grese)

There are a few more necromantic spells, but our example already clearly shows the difference from the necromantic practices of the Archaic and Classical periods. Instead of being the object of the enquiry, the dead person has now become the medium for the questions. Curiously, none of these necromantic papyri is older than the fourth century, nor can we trace back the custom into ancient times, as the Egyptians did not practise necromancy before the coming of the Greeks and Romans.[60]

Admittedly, necromancy was indicted by various intellectuals under the

Empire, such as Artemidorus in his *Dreambook* (2.69), Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (8.7.12) and Porphyry in his *On Abstinence* (2.47.2), but these protests had little effect. Real changes took place only with the rise of Christianity. For a start, the Christians produced important changes in society regarding the most important mediums used in necromancy: people who had died a premature or violent death. In this respect the new Christian mentality greatly differed from traditional Greek and Roman ideas about these particular categories of the dead. Jesus' words to the criminal on the adjacent cross that he would be in Paradise (Appendix 2) on that very same day must have been an incredible statement for Greek and Roman newcomers to the Christian faith. Criminals had always been excluded from the hereafter or at the most occupied only a place at its periphery. However, given the early martyrdoms of Christians, such a doctrine could never have been acceptable to the new faith.[61]

Christianity produced a similar change in the valuation of children who had died a premature death, as we can document not only from the content of epitaphs, which often mention prematurely deceased children. An analysis of nearly 55,000 funerary stones has demonstrated that the Christians celebrated their young dead to a much greater extent than their pagan contemporaries.[62] It may well be that this close sense of the family among the Christians was one of the main reasons for their success.

These ideological changes seem to have been concomitant with a kind of demonisation of necromancy. Fourth-century authors now suggest that the necromancers procured dead mediums by digging up corpses or even by committing infanticide.[63] Yet, all this was not as fatal as the imperial prohibitions. Whereas in 337 the pagan author Firmicus Maternus already mentioned necromancy negatively in his astrological handbook *Mathesis* (1.2.10), in 359 the Christian emperor Constantius II threatened his subjects with the worst possible penalties, if they practised necromancy, as we know from the historian Ammianus Marcellinus:

> For if anyone wore on his neck an amulet against the quartan ague or any other complaint, or was accused by the testimony of the evil-disposed of passing by a grave in the evening, on the ground that he was a dealer in poisons, or a gatherer of the horrors of the tombs and the vain illusions of the ghosts that walk there, he was condemned to capital punishment and so perished.[64]

It is attractive to connect this kind of witch-hunt with a feeling of uncertainty regarding the solidity of the emperor's rule. This also seems to have been the case with the emperor Valentian I. In 364, after the pagan interlude of Julian the Apostate, he ordered that any kind of religion authorised by his forefathers, such as the haruspices, was permitted. Capital punishment, on the other hand, awaited anyone who resorted 'at night to evil imprecations, magic

rituals or necromantic sacrifices'.[65] These imperial measures may not have been immediately effective. In fact, in Augustine's time necromancy still seems to have been an option in Africa; at the same time in Rome an amulet with a scene of necromancy could still be worn, and around AD 500 it still seems to have been practised at Beirut.[66] Eventually, though, the measures proved to be decisive. In fact, few magical texts survived into the Middle Ages, mostly only classical writings about magic. Necromancy now became the consultation of demonic powers rather than of the corpses of the dead.[67]

3. Modern spiritualism

We may bring out the features of ancient necromancy even sharper by comparing Greek practice with the last great surge in consultations of the dead, nineteenth-century spiritualism, 'our new-discovered, scientific necromancy', as it was called by an American opponent.[68] The movement began on 31 March 1848 in the village of Hydesville, near Rochester, New York, when three sisters, Leah, Kate and Margaretta Fox, claimed, almost certainly fraudulently, to have discovered an intelligent force behind the poltergeist that had disturbed their families. It would last a few years before the girls' mediumship was recognised, but already in 1852 the words 'spiritualist' and 'spiritualism' came into common usage,[69] and consulting spirits soon became the rage. As I am only interested here in its rituals in comparison with ancient necromancy, I will conclude with looking at the places where spirits were consulted, the organisation and audience of the seances, the mediums, the questions asked and, finally, the kind of afterlife the movement presupposed. Considering that the movement was extremely popular only just over a century and a half ago, one might have expected the availability of numerous 'thick descriptions', but this is not the case. Spiritualist seances are still curiously under-researched, as if the doubtful intellectual status of its practitioners could reflect on its modern researchers. It is an area in which much is still to be investigated.[70]

The first aspect of modern spiritualism that immediately strikes the student of ancient necromancy is its public character. Whereas Greek necromancy took place in isolation in specific but public places according to precise rituals, modern consultations of the dead were very much a communal affair. They could take place anywhere and there does not seem to have been any single kind of ritual. Spiritualists even insisted on the fact that they did not employ esoteric formulas or mysterious rites of initiation.[71] Meetings could take place in private rooms but also, as in the case of English working-class seances, in the Mechanics Institute or a Temperance Hall. In America things were done in a different mode. In addition to attending plain meetings in single rooms, one could even visit spirit concerts with trumpets, accordions and percussion instruments. The great variety in meeting places also shows the variety of the attending public, although the success of the spiritualistic

movement was not the same in each country. Whereas it pervaded the whole of America and, if to a somewhat lesser extent, Great Britain, it never became very popular, for example, in the Netherlands. It is typical, though, of its popularity at the time that spiritualists were invited to many of the European courts. The most successful medium ever, Daniel Dunglas Home (1833–86),[72] visited not only the Dutch Queen Sophia in The Hague and Emperor Napoleon III in Paris, but even Czar Alexander II in Moscow.[73]

The absence of initiations and formulas did not mean that seances could take place under any circumstances. The rooms in which they occurred always had to be dark, and it was considered to be to the great credit of Home that he allowed light in his seances, but even Home, as a Dutch observer noticed (below), performed better in small companies, preferably of women. As an example of a more secluded English seance in the, supposedly, 1830s we may quote an anonymous report from the 1870s, which probably, it seems to me, has retrojected current practices. According to the author there existed in London a lodge, appropriately called the Orphic Circle, of which he describes a seance as follows:

> The four lamps that sufficed to dispel the darkness of the lodge were lighted, the braziers duly served, and the fumigations carefully attended to. After the opening hymns had been sung and the invocations commenced, the lamps began to flicker with the usual unsteady motion which indicates responses from the spirits summoned, and in a short time they [four lamps] went out after another, leaving the room only faintly illuminated by the colored fires from the braziers.[74]

Clearly, such a solemn meeting was typically English. At the courts, the atmosphere had of course also to remain restrained. We are fortunate that for the very first time a Dutch dissertation has provided a report of Home's visit to the Dutch court, which until now had remained unpublished in a coded diary of a Dutch politician, Aeneas Mackay (1806–76). On 3 February 1858 Home let those present repeat the alphabet and each time the table would knock at the right letter: unlike in ancient Greece, modern spirits were of course already literate. The message for the queen was 'you are too sad', which cannot have been very hard to say, since one of her friends had just died. The queen also felt four fingers pressing her hand, which she thought to be the hand of a very affectionate person, such as her husband, King William III, clearly was not. Mackay also relates that Home was chased away from the French court, because the empress Eugenie had felt upset after being touched by an invisible hand.[75] Americans, of course, would be less satisfied with a few movements or a decent touch, and during a seance in 1867 the audience could witness:

> bells ringing over the heads of the circle, floating in the air, and dropping upon the table; a spirit hand seen to extinguish the light;

> spirit hands touching the hands or garments of all present; pocket books taken out of pockets, the money abstracted, and then returned; watches removed in the same manner . . . the bosoms of ladies partially unbuttoned, and articles thrust therein and taken therefrom; powerful rappings on the table and floor etc. etc.[76]

Of all the nineteenth-century spiritualist practitioners Home was by far the most famous medium. In addition to making contacts with spirits, he levitated tables, carried red-hot coal and elongated his body. In his most celebrated exhibition he even floated out of a window 70 feet above a London street while re-entering the building through another window seven and a half feet away – without ever being unmasked as an impostor. There were many other male mediums, but the majority were female, often adolescents, just as female adolescents have often been the favourite persons for apparitions, witness, amongst many others, Bernadette of Lourdes. This female prominence is a striking difference with the ancient world, where female mediumship was limited to only a few of the most important oracles, such as the Pythia of Delphi and the Sibyl of Erythrae.[77]

Both in the States and in Great Britain ordinary women eagerly grabbed the chance of a more exciting life, but they still had to conform to normal expectations. Whereas male mediums could move freely on the stage and employed what was called 'normal speaking', female mediums usually spoke in trance, i.e. others spoke through them, and they remained as passive as possible. Naturally, they also received less money for their performances, but they derived their satisfaction from the public acclaim, the possibility of enacting male roles and the possibilities of travelling – none of these advantages being available to their Greek counterparts.[78]

What kind of questions did the audience put to the mediums? Whereas in ancient Greece people apparently asked questions concerning the dead with whom they had a personal relationship (section 1), spiritualistic audiences and mediums cast their nets much wider. Of course, people asked for information about their departed beloved, including pets, but perhaps even more people were interested in what heaven looked like. On the other hand, interests were not only directed at the nature of the Other World. John Edmonds, a one-time judge at the New York Supreme Court received messages from Benjamin Franklin, who explained to a chorus of applauding spirits that his discoveries about electricity had made possible the communication with their still living relatives. Newton confessed to a mistake in his theory about gravity and Francis Bacon wrote a report on progress.[79] Once the gates to the hereafter were opened, there was no limit to the questions to be asked.

The very first communication concerning the world of the dead, that by the Fox sisters, was still supposed to have been from a murdered man: in other words, from a restless category of souls which traditionally was believed not to have definitively settled in the afterlife. It is remarkable how quickly this

changed. As a rule, spiritualists would receive messages from normally deceased persons. Moreover, they were now able to impart knowledge from the hereafter on a regular basis, whereas in previous times only those on the brink of death could report on the hereafter. After the flourishing of the afterlife in the High Middle Ages, belief in hell went into decline in the seventeenth century,[80] whereas heaven started to lose its significance in the eighteenth century.[81] For a short time, spiritualists managed to restore the afterlife to its former glory, if in a modernised form: without the torments of hell or ideas of praising God in heaven.[82] Modern dead continued their earthly life, and they were even able to develop themselves in the Otherworld. But the revival could not be sustained and the popularity of spiritualism had waned by the turn of the century.

For different reasons, then, the ancient world and the generations that preceded us devised means to contact the dead, be it their beloved or those they feared. It is one of the characteristics of modern life that the dead no longer are significant in our lives: typically, in Holland graves can be cleared away after only ten years. The development is not universal, since in America belief in an afterlife has actually increased in the last two decades, and mediums are getting again popular. Yet people no longer seem to ask questions about the existence of an afterlife.[83] So, what about the 'life everlasting'? It is that question to which we now turn in our final chapter.

7

NEAR-DEATH EXPERIENCES

Ancient, medieval and modern

In 1994 the New York Times bestseller list featured for more than five months a book entitled *Embraced by the Light*, the report of a so-called near-death experience (henceforth: NDE). The popularity of the book attests to a fascination with the afterlife, such as the Western world has not seen since the collapse of spiritualism after its heyday in the period from 1850–70 (Ch. 6.2). The beginning of this modern fascination can be dated to 1975, when Raymond Moody, an American former philosophy professor turned psychiatrist, published a relatively small book, in which he presented a narrative and analysis of reports about experiences of people who had been at the brink of death: 'near-death experiences', as he called them.[1] The book was an instant success. Since its appearance it has been translated into more than thirty languages, sparked the foundation of societies for near-death studies in most Western countries, and the publication of three journals dedicated to the subject: *Omega*, *Anabiosis* and the *Journal for Near Death Studies*. The term has become well known to the public; the BBC and other television companies have dedicated programmes to the phenomenon; Hollywood has appropriated the theme in its film *Flatliners* (1990, directed by Joel Schumacher) and today we have the inevitable web site.[2]

In his book Moody constructed the following model of a near-death experience on the basis of 150 reports:

> A man is dying and, as he reaches the point of greatest physical distress, he hears himself pronounced dead by his doctor. He begins to hear an uncomfortable noise, a loud ringing or buzzing, and at the same time feels himself moving very rapidly through a long dark tunnel. After this, he suddenly finds himself outside of his own physical body, but still in the immediate physical environment, and he sees his own body from a distance, as though he is a spectator. He watches the resuscitation attempt from this unusual vantage point and is in a state of emotional upheaval.
>
> After a while, he collects himself and becomes more accustomed to his odd condition. He notices that he still has a 'body', but one of a

very different nature and with different powers from the physical body he has left behind. Soon other things begin to happen. Others come to meet and to help him. He glimpses the spirits of relatives and friends who have already died, and a loving warm spirit of a kind he has never encountered before – a being of light – appears before him. This being asks him a question, nonverbally, to make him evaluate his life and helps him along by showing him a panoramic, instantaneous playback of the major events of his life. At some point he finds himself approaching some sort of barrier or border, apparently representing the limit between earthly life and the next life. Yet, he finds that he must go back to the earth, that the time for his death has not yet come. At this point he resists, for by now he is taken up with his experiences in the afterlife and does not want to return. He is overwhelmed by intense feelings of joy, love, and peace. Despite his attitude, though, he somehow reunites with his physical body and lives.

Later he tries to tell others, but he has trouble doing so. In the first place, he can find no human words adequate to describe these unearthly episodes. He also finds that others scoff, so he stops telling other people. Still, the experience affects his life profoundly, especially his views about death and its relationship to life.

Subsequent studies have confirmed the basic reliability of Moody's presentation, although not all elements of the experiences are attested to with the same frequency. An American scholar gives the following count on the basis of 61 cases:[3]

	%
The feeling of being dead	92
The feeling of calm and peace	100
Sense of bodily separation	100
Observations of physical objects	53
Dark region or a void	23
Life review	3
Being(s) of light	28
Entering into a different world	54
Encountering others	48
Return	100

It is clear from this count that Moody's model is very much the lowest common denominator of the NDEs. For example, children do not experience a life review or the meeting with relatives and friends, and the tunnel sensation seems to be absent from China and India.[4] Moreover, although Moody depicted the NDEs as positive, more recent research has demonstrated that

they can also be distressing.[5] Unfortunately, Moody does not have the same interests as a social historian. He, therefore, did not record those particulars about his informants that would have enabled us to locate these experiences in a more specific contexts of age, gender and class. Later investigations, though, have shown that those who have a NDE are normally in their early thirties and that gender does not make a difference.[6] Finally, although NDEs occur to between 9 per cent and 18 per cent of the people who come close to death,[7] they are also experienced by people who are very much alive from a medical point of view; even a traumatic experience can be enough to cause a NDE. Evidently, the physiological and psychological causes behind the experience are still obscure.[8]

Much of the modern literature uses the stories for what they supposedly can tell us about life after death or, as the blurb of another recent bestseller on the subject states: 'what survivors of near-death experiences can teach us about life.'[9] On the other hand, I am interested in what these accounts can teach us about the history of the representations of afterlife, not so much its realities. Admittedly, one should be slightly suspicious about very recent NDEs after the publicity following in the wake of Moody's book. There is a fair chance that the familiar pattern is now influencing reports of later NDEs. Yet the initial corpus of Moody is rich enough for a preliminary investigation.

Moody limited himself mainly to his contemporary stories, but he did point to the experiences of Er in Plato's *Republic*. The brief mention is a challenge. Is it possible that these modern reports can be paralleled in periods of the past? Do they perhaps enable us to reconstruct a universal human experience? It seems to me that historians should direct their attention to these visions, since they can tell us something of the ways we have interiorised certain ideas or dropped others. Dreams are a good parallel. In the seventeenth century, religion and politics could play an important role in the dreams of people, but it seems that in modern America at least, these subjects have more or less disappeared from dreams.[10] In other words, the increasing separation of public and private life has led to a development in which increasingly only our private life has become deeply important to us. We could try to assess these visions in a similar way. What do they tell us about the ways many Americans nowadays imagine the afterlife?

Unfortunately, on the whole sociologists and historians have kept shy of the subject. Only a historian of religion and two medievalists have compared contemporary NDEs to similar medieval reports. Although the pioneering study by Carol Zaleski is persuasive in its analyses of modern accounts, it is clearly much less successful regarding the Middle Ages.[11] The era is much better served by a somewhat essayistic study of Peter Dinzelbacher, the best contemporary student of medieval visions, which also contains several good observations on modern reports.[12] The second medievalist, Marc Van Uytfanghe, has compared in detail all pre-Carolingian visions (about fifteen in all) by taking the individual elements of modern stories as analysed by Moody and identifying

them in the medieval visions.[13] This approach has the disadvantage that the individual nature of the visions becomes less visible. In any case, all three studies basically compare only modern NDEs and leave antiquity largely out of the picture. There is thus scope for a few additional observations.

Taking Moody's narrative model as our point of departure and comparing ancient (section 1), medieval (section 2) and modern versions (section 3) we hope to make a small contribution to a better understanding of the development of the Western imagination regarding the afterlife.

1. Antiquity

In antiquity we have five descriptions which could possibly be considered as NDEs:[14] Er by Plato, Cleonymus by Aristotle's pupil Clearchus, Thespesius by Plutarch, Eurynous by Naumachius of Epirus and Curma by Augustine.[15] We probably could have had more, since in his commentary on Plato's *Republic* (II.113 Kroll), the Neoplatonist philosopher Proclus tells that Democritus wrote a book about people wrongly believed to have died, called *On Hades* (B 1 DK), but this book has not survived. Admittedly, five cases in a period of about 700 years are not a representative sample, but we can at least look at these examples in order to see whether they conform to Moody's model.

Having discussed the rewards that the just man receives from the gods, Plato ends his *Republic* with the tale of Er,[16] which is clearly meant to be the climax of his work, just as eschatological myths conclude his *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*[17] and, if less explicitly, the *Apology*.[18] The story contains various, typically Platonic elaborations and was already famous in antiquity. Origen even used it in his attempt to explain the resurrection to his pagan readers.[19] Here we are especially interested in Plato's picture of the hereafter.

The account has only a very short introduction. It is the tale of a brave warrior, 'Er son of Armenius, of Pamphylian origin', who had been found undecayed on the battlefield ten days after a battle, and who came back to life only as he lay on the pyre on the twelfth day. The mention of Armenius is of course very seductive and indeed, an Armenologist has dedicated a detailed study to the Armenian etymology of Er.[20] The attempt is totally unconvincing, since in Greek onomastics the name would at the very most hint at guest friendships with the Armenia of Er's father; similarly, Cimon would name one of his sons Lakedaimonios in order to stress his ties with Sparta.[21] However, the incredible, dramatic details of Er's survival surely should read as a warning to the reader of the fictional character of the account, not as an attempt to provide an eye witness report.

So what did Er have to tell? After his soul had left his body, he journeyed with a great crowd to a mysterious region where anonymous judges referred the just to the right upwards to heaven and the unjust to the left downwards. He himself was charged with telling mankind about his experiences. Subsequently, he saw two chasms through which souls ascended from a kind of

purgatory and the other through which souls descended from heaven. Both groups met one another on a meadow. Some souls, though, could not be purified, such as that of Ardiaeus, a Pamphylian tyrant who had killed his father and brother. Such criminals were hurled into the Tartarus. After a week on the meadow the remaining souls had to journey on, and on the fifth day they reached a shaft of light which was connected with a complicated set of heavens where they heard the music of the spheres. Here, except for the messenger, the souls received lots for new lives from the Moirai: some a good one and others an extremely bad one; some those of humans but others those of animals.

Plato then interrupts the fiction, and the narrator now addresses Glauco with an oration as to how important it is to select the right role model in life. After this ethical lesson, Er resumes his story and relates that many chose a life completely different from their previous one, often the unfortunate a better one and the fortunate a worse one. For example, Orpheus took the life of a swan because he had enough of women after being murdered by them;[22] Atalanta now became a male athlete. Subsequently, everybody had to drink from the River of Forgetfulness in order to forget their previous life.[23] Then they fell asleep and in the middle of the night they suddenly were carried to their births, 'like stars'. Er was not allowed to drink and not knowing 'how and in what way he returned into the body' he recovered on the funeral pyre. And that is, so Plato concludes his book, 'how the *mythos* was saved. And it will save us if we believe it.' In his usual way, then, Plato has used a story, a *mythos*, to make his point. The report from the Beyond gives extra weight to his own expositions about afterlife, but its narrative framework leaves little doubt about its fictional character.

A detailed analysis of the myth would transcend the bounds of this book, but there is room for a few observations as to which particular sources Plato used in constructing his imaginary afterworld. They seem to have been threefold: traditional, Orphic and Pythagorean. The traditional, poetic representation (Ch. 1.2) has receded into the background in this detailed account, but a few elements, such as the chasms and the Tartarus, have been kept, although in Homer only the Titans are in Tartarus.[24]

Orphism (Ch. 2.2) is clearly important. So let us start with the judges of the underworld. In Homer and Pindar, the later traditional judges Minos, Aeacus and Rhadamanthys still functioned only as arbitrators in conflicts among the dead or the gods,[25] but anonymous judges in the afterworld already occurred in Pindar's *Second Olympian Ode* (59), a poem well known for its Orphic influence. Is it pure chance that not long afterwards Aeschylus spoke of the 'other Zeus' pronouncing 'the last judgements among the dead' in his *Suppliants* (230–1) and in his *Eumenides* the chorus says: 'for Hades is a mighty "auditor" of mortals beneath the earth, and supervises everything with his registering mind' (273–5)?[26] However this may be, named judges are not mentioned before Plato's *Apology* (41a),[27] where the addition of Triptolemus

to the above mentioned triad strongly suggests Eleusinian influence.[28] The idea of judges in the underworld, then, originated in Orphism, although eventually it seems to have derived from Egypt,[29] as also did Orphic ideas of a cosmic egg and the 'passports' to the underworld (Ch. 2.1).

This Orphic colouring is strengthened by the reference to the meadow, which is also mentioned by an Orphic Gold Leaf (A 4: Ch. 2.2). The oldest reference to joyful 'meadows with red roses' in the underworld is once again Pindar (fr. 129 Maehler),[30] and meadows recur in fragments of Orphic poetry. It is true that only in Plato does judgement take place on or near a meadow, but in our myth the souls camp on the meadow 'as at a festival', which suggests the joyful atmosphere of the other meadows.[31] Orphic inspiration is probably also behind the River of Forgetfulness which was reached through the Plain of Forgetting, a part of the underworld topography in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (186). The Orphic Gold Leaves mention a Lake of Memory (B 1–2, 11), a 'work of Memory' (B 10) and even the 'gift of Memory' (A 5).[32]

Pythagorean influence is visible in the idea of reincarnation (Ch. 2.2), the identification of the road 'upwards' with that 'of the right', the music of the spheres and the astronomical speculations.[33] The distinction between morally just and unjust, which is typical of Plato's eschatological myths,[34] first occurs in Pindar and clearly belongs to the same background, since it is not found in earlier Orphic texts.[35] Evidently, Plato had manipulated existing underworld features into a completely new constellation.

Can this report also count as a NDE? Hardly so. Er tells very little about himself and his role is clearly to be the mouthpiece of Plato. He leaves the body but does not even know how he returned – a detail which presumably was no longer of interest to Plato's purposes. The importance of the account lies elsewhere. For the first time in Greek history a visitor provides on his return a detailed account of the various compartments of the underworld and the fate of its inhabitants, the just and the unjust. Before long, such tours of the underworld would become extremely popular in Jewish religion, and it is hard to think that the Jewish genre of the 'tours of hell' does not owe something to the report about Er the Pamphylian.[36]

Plato had certainly been read by Clearchus of Soli (fr. 8 Wehrli[2]), who was very interested in the activity of the soul, which featured largely in his *On sleep*. In this dialogue, one of the participants was a Jew: one of the earliest occurrences of Jews in Greek literature. Pythagoras probably also featured, which is one more testimony to his interest in the soul (Ch. 2.1). Clearchus relates that a certain Cleonymus, an Athenian, pined away on the death of a friend and seemed to have died. But just as his mother embraced him and said farewell for the very last time (an interesting detail from ancient dying customs), she noticed that he was still alive. He revived and related his NDE.

His soul, freed from its corporeal chains, was raised heavenwards and saw on the earth beneath him 'places of different shapes and colours, and rivers invisible to man'.[37] Finally he reached a place sacred to Hestia with many

demons in female shapes, where he met a certain Lysias, a Syracusan. Having been told to remain quiet and to watch what went on, they both saw 'souls being judged, punished and purified one after the other under the supervision of the Eumenides'. Subsequently, having been ordered to return to earth, they made each other's acquaintance and promised to search for one another on their return home. And indeed, shortly after, during a visit by Lysias to Athens, 'Cleonymus had seen him from afar and shouted out that it was Lysias, and Lysias, having equally recognised Cleonymus before he had come to him, had told bystanders that it was Cleonymus'.

We do not know what the aim was of this story, since we have only its summary in Proclus' Neo-Platonic commentary on Plato's myth of Er.[38] It seems that the anecdote supplied details about the judgement of the souls in the hereafter, which already included a purification. The origin of Lysias, Syracuse, may well be a pointer to Orphic or Pythagorean traditions (Ch. 2). Some details, such as the view of the earth from afar and the description of the earth, derive from the eschatological myth of Plato's *Phaedo* (110b), whereas the sacred place of Hestia comes from the eschatological myth of Plato's *Phaedrus* (247a). But from where did Clearchus derive the female demons?[39] Rather striking is the attempt at verification which has been incorporated into the story. This is one of the strategies, which we will also encounter in medieval reports of a NDE. Another is the mention of many witnesses, which from a historian's point of view is more convincing, although in the end often not persuasive, either. None of these details is comparable to modern NDEs – the exception being the feeling of drifting away. But this sensation is hardly extraordinary and may easily have been derived from experiences of gradually falling asleep.

Like Clearchus, Plutarch, too, had read his *Phaedo*. In his *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance*, written after 81 AD, since it alludes to the eruption of the Vesuvius and the death of Emperor Titus, Plutarch gives the following account (563B-568B). An initially nameless man who had 'died' from a fall on his neck but revived on the day of his funeral, relates that the thinking part of his soul had 'fallen' from his body. He had the impression that he moved upwards, and on his way to the stars he soon noticed other souls, some of his acquaintances, who were crying and lamenting.[40] Above, other souls were joyful but they shunned the tumultuous – a typically Platonic touch.[41] He vaguely recognised the soul of a relative, who told him that his name now was Thespesius, no longer Ardiaeus,[42] and, rather reassuringly, that he was not dead and could recognise the souls of the dead by the absence of their shadows and their unblinking eyes.[43] He also told him that there were various penalties for the souls, although some were 'past all healing'.

Having gone on at length about the fate of these souls, some of which were being reborn into a body, Thespesius' guide took him over an immense distance to an enormous chasm, which looked like a Bacchic grotto.[44] There were many flowers, fragrant scents (Ch. 5.2), and a happy mood with much

Bacchic revelry. Thespesius wanted to stay here, but his guide forced him to go on to a place which looked like a big mixing-bowl, but appeared to be another large chasm. Here his guide definitively settled some problems connected with the history of Delphi and here Thespesius also heard the Sibyl foretelling the time of his own death.

After this somewhat strange interlude, he saw numerous people, even his own father, being punished for a crime that had gone undetected on earth. Given the subject of Plutarch's book, the worst punishments were naturally for those whose punishment had passed over to their children or descendants. Finally, he was shown how artisans hammered souls into shape for their rebirth. They had already finished working on the soul of the matricidal Nero by piercing it with red-hot nails,[45] when suddenly a voice came out of the light and told them to give the singing emperor a more merciful fate and to turn him into a 'vocal creature', a frog, since he had liberated Greece (AD 67).[46] And then, just when a woman was going to brand Thespesius with a red-hot rod, another woman interfered and he was suddenly pulled away, 'opening his eyes again almost from his very grave'.[47]

Once again we do not have an authentic report of a NDE, but a composition full of Platonic, Pythagorean and Orphic echoes.[48] Like Plato, Plutarch concludes his book with an account of a visit to the underworld and the name of his protagonist, Ardiaeus, is identical with the Platonic Ardiaeus,[49] but, unlike Plato, Plutarch makes the punishment of the descendants of those whose crimes had gone undetected close to being the climax of the entire account. Both features show already the literary nature of his report. In addition, it is not really likely that a man who is described as a great rogue before his NDE would experience a visit which is full of Platonic and Pythagorean allusions. This lack of authenticity is further confirmed by the details concerning the Delphic oracle, which could hardly have been a concern to an inhabitant of Cilicia; in fact, Ardiaeus is even said to have consulted a local oracle, that of Amphilochos at Mallos (*Mor.* 434D). On the other hand, Plutarch had been a priest at Delphi, and Delphic problems were of the utmost interest to him, even though we may not quite admire his 'blatant Delphic one-upmanship'.[50] Regarding the typical NDE details, we find only the feeling of drifting upwards and the recognition of some of his former acquaintances. In a way, these details are not very specific and the most striking parallel with modern NDEs is that his experience, according to Plutarch, affected his lifestyle and he became a totally reformed person. As so often in modern times (section 3), the NDE had resulted in a kind of conversion.

We find a similar kind of conversion in a somewhat later author, Naumachius of Epirus, who relates that a young man, Eurynous, had been buried for fifteen days before reviving. Eurynous reported that below the earth he had seen and heard 'miraculous things', but had been ordered to keep everything secret (!). He continued to live quite a long time and 'he was seen to be much more just after his resurrection than before'.[51]

In the third century, the Neo-Platonist Cornelis Labeo noted the following story: 'Two men had died on the same day and met at a sort of crossroads [*compitum*]; then they were ordered to return to their bodies. They made a pact that they would be friends in the future, and so it happened until they died.' The story has been handed down by Augustine, who seems to have considerably abbreviated Labeo's report.[52] Labeo himself took it from Varro, who probably used a Greek source, since the infernal crossroads already occur in Plato's descriptions of the underworld and had become a well known feature of Hades by the time of Labeo's contemporary Porphyry.[53] The pact between the two men looks suspiciously like the meeting of the Athenian and Syracusan in Clearchus and may somehow derive from it. However, the account is too short to be informative as a possible NDE.

It is rather remarkable, then, that pagan antiquity has given us so few literary accounts of a soul visiting the hereafter. This scarcity of descriptions attests to a paucity of interest in the afterlife, and this is perhaps confirmed by the relative lack of epitaphs speaking about the afterworld. In the end, Greek and Roman religion were basically directed to this life, not that of the hereafter. However, whenever they do report on the afterlife, we immediately note the enormous influence of Orphism and Pythagoreanism, even if often in a Platonic mirror.

It is only towards the end of late antiquity that we find the first Christian NDE. In his *The Care to Be Taken for the Dead* (12.15),[54] which probably dates to 421 AD, Augustine tells us the following story: Curma, a poor *curialis* ('member of a city council') and *simpliciter rusticanus* ('a simple rustic'), who lived not far from Augustine's city of Hippo, fell into a deep coma. After a number of days, he awoke and immediately asked for somebody to go to the house of Curma the smith. On arrival they found out that his namesake had died at the very moment that our Curma had woken up from his coma. When they returned, Curma told bystanders that in the place he had been in he had heard the order not to bring Curma the *curialis* but Curma the smith.

After this exciting start, Curma relates that in a kind of hell – 'those places of the dead' (*loca illa mortuorum*) he says rather vaguely – he saw people treated according to their merits, even some he had known before his coma. It is rather curious that at the same time he also saw people who had not yet died. Among them were some of the clergy of his own parish, a priest who told him to get baptised, and Augustine himself. After these sightings in an unspecified place, he was told that 'he was admitted into Paradise'. Later, when he was dismissed from Paradise, he was told: 'Go, get baptised if you want to be in this place of the blessed' (*in isto loco beatorum*). When he responded that he already had been baptised, somebody who remains anonymous answered 'Go, get truly baptised.' And that is what Curma did at Easter, without telling his experience to Augustine, by whom he had been earlier baptised.

A few years later Augustine heard Curma's story from a mutual friend. At first he was not quite sure what to make of it, and he interpreted the experience not as an authentic meeting but as a kind of dream. Curma could

not have met the real dead but their images, since Augustine believed that the deceased remained at a place of undisturbed peace where they had no contact with the living whatsoever.[55] Nevertheless, he took Curma's story very seriously and had Curma relate his whole story to him while in the company of respectable citizens, who assured him that they remembered him telling them exactly the same. The obvious emphasis Augustine puts on the low social status of Curma and the confirmation of Curma's story by his fellow citizens indicates that he wanted the reader to believe this strange experience.

Unfortunately, hearing a story twice is not a guarantee of its truth. It is rather puzzling that we find a very similar story in a fragment of Plutarch's dialogue *On the Soul*, which is quoted by Eusebius after his treatment of the myth of Er (*Praep. Ev*. 11.36.). A certain Antyllus told Plutarch and his company that he had died but been released again, since those who had fetched him had been reproached 'by the master' (a curiously vague term) that they had returned with the wrong one: it should have been the shoemaker Nicandas. The story evidently got round and finally reached Nicandas himself, who started to feel very uneasy about the whole situation. Rightly so, since he suddenly passed away, whereas Antyllus recovered.[56] Once again the company confirms the story. Yet in Lucian's *Lovers of Lies* the resemblance is even stronger, since a man in Hades hears Pluto saying: 'let him off but bring the blacksmith (!) Demylus' (25).[57] There can be little doubt, then, that either Augustine or Curma had embellished his story.

If we leave out the beginning, then what is left of Curma's story? Compared to the wealth of details in the *Acta martyrum*, such as the *Passion of Perpetua* (Ch. 5.2), he has strikingly little to say about the hereafter. He describes Paradise and a kind of vestibule for the dead, but he furnishes hardly any interesting details about them. The focus of his story seems to have been the need to be christened, and that may well be the underlying psychological reason for Curma having received this particular vision. As a parallel for modern NDEs it is therefore not very helpful.

2. **Middle Ages**

Let us now turn our attention to the early Middle Ages, where we find a great number of visions of the hereafter reported by people on the brink of death or after a deep coma.[58] I will concentrate on two well-known Anglo-Saxon experiences, those of Dryhthelm as related by the Venerable Bede (673–735) and of the monk of Wenlock as told by Boniface (*ca*. 675–754). The choice is somewhat arbitrary, but the two visions are sufficiently representative of the genre to justify the procedure; moreover, both accounts remained popular throughout the High Middle Ages and are regularly found combined in manuscripts.[59] Naturally, they deserve a much more detailed analysis than I can give here, but in this chapter our interest is limited to the similarities they share with modern NDEs.

The first Anglo-Saxon experience is told by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History* (5.12).[60] Bede had learned about the journey to the Beyond from three different sources (a king, a bishop and a hermit), which he carefully enumerates before casually mentioning the name of the visionary, *frater Drycthelm*, whom he had never met himself. The event must have taken place before the death of one of his sources, King Aldfrid, who died in 705. Bede completed his history only in 731 and is thus clearly speaking about the past.[61]

Dryhthelm was a layman from the Cunningham district in Northumbria, who fell ill and 'died in the early hours of the night'. In the morning he suddenly recovered, got up from his bed, thus terrifying all the mourners, except his wife. Having told her that he had decided to change his life, he divided his earthly goods and withdrew from the world to become a hermit. It is only now that Bede allows him to begin his account of the Beyond, heightening the credibility of his narrative by having him tell it in the first person. Dryhthelm started his journey straight away, guided by a being dressed in brilliant clothes: clearly an angel. Going towards the rising sun during the summer solstice, the north-east, they first reached a large valley. Here souls were being tortured in two rivers, one full of fire and the other filled with ice,[62] but Dryhthelm was told that this was not hell. Van Uytfanghe compares this valley with the tunnel often mentioned in modern NDEs,[63] but such a comparison is hardly persuasive, since the tunnel and comparable spaces, such as caves and sewers, function as a conduit for the escaping soul, which is clearly not the case in this instance. It is typical of Dryhthelm's NDE that he sees people (a tonsured person, a layman, a woman), but does not mention any particular names. This lack of personal details seems to point to the oral tradition of his experience, during which the names of once familiar persons were probably dropped.

Dryhthelm and his guide next entered a darkness, such that Dryhthelm saw only the light of his silent guide. Having travelled *sola sub nocte per umbras*, a quote from the *Aeneid* (6.268), they arrived at a pit with great balls of fire. At this point his guide left him. Not only was it incredibly smelly there, but also full of the sounds of lamentations and sardonic laughter (*cachinnum crepitantem*).[64] Devilish spirits were hurling people into the pit and even threatened himself, but he was rescued by his guide who suddenly reappeared and now took him along a road in the direction of sunrise at the winter solstice, the south-east. Here they found a plain full of spring flowers with a marvellous odour and brilliant light (Ch. 5.2) where groups of happy people were walking round, dressed in white, the normal colour of clothes in both the ancient and early medieval heavens. As was the case in the visions of Perpetua (Ch. 5.2), the place was full of people, yet it is remarkable that Dryhthelm did not specify whom he saw, whereas other visionaries mention saints, martyrs and virgins: in short, all the categories that played an important role in early Christianity. Having been told that this was not heaven, they passed through this place and arrived at another which only differed from the previous one

in having soft singing, an even more intense light and an even sweeter fragrance.

However, Dryhthelm was not allowed to stay here and they returned to the previous place, where his guide explained to him what he had seen. The valley was a purgatory *avant la lettre*. The souls here acquired the Kingdom of Heaven only at the Last Judgement, but prayers, fastings and celebrations of masses, especially, could liberate them before that day. The pit was the actual entry into Gehenna (Ch. 1.3),[65] and the first heaven, so to speak, was meant for the souls who had performed many good deeds but were just not good enough to enter straight into God's Kingdom: they would see Christ at the Last Judgement.

After this exposition Dryhthelm was told that he had to return to his body, but if he would lead a simple life according to the rules of the Church, he would receive a place among the blessed. Dryhthelm did not really want to return, but did not dare to object. His guide did not give him a specific mission, but Dryhthelm decided to become a hermit. One of his exercises was to stay in the river Tweed as long as possible while singing Psalms. When he emerged during winter, covered with ice, and passers-by admired his endurance of the cold, he would answer: 'I have seen it a lot colder!' And so he lived until his death.

Our second vision, that of the monk of Wenlock, as heard by Boniface from Hildelida, the abbess of Barking (Essex), had recently taken place in the monastery of Abbess Milburga in Wenlock (Shropshire). Fortunately, Boniface could meet the visionary in person, who recounted his experience in the company of three 'pious and highly venerable brothers'. All of them signed the letter to Eadberga, abbess of the Beata Dei Genetrix Maria Monastery on Thanet in Kent, to whom, on her request, Boniface wrote the account. As the death of King Ceolred of Mercia (709–16) is reported in the vision, it must have been written after 716.[66]

One day, when the monk was struck by a serious illness, it suddenly seemed as if a veil had been lifted from his eyes: he could now see the whole world (countries, peoples and seas).[67] It is noticeable that, as in the case of Dryhthelm (above), his own soul is not explicitly mentioned, but, like Paul, he was *extra corpus suum raptus* (*2 Corinthians* 12.3). Brilliant angels carried him aloft singing, as they do in most visions, including those of the early Christian church (Ch. 5.2). In fact, the angels were so full of shining light that the monk's eyes started to burn until an angel laid his hands upon them. From on high he saw a multitude of souls ascending, with both angels and demons trying to take hold of them. Similar battles also occur in the early visions of Fursey (an Irish abbot who died about 648 AD) and Barontus (a Frankish hermit who died about 700 AD).[68] Our author certainly knew Fursey's vision,[69] but he was probably also inspired by Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, since he had manifestly read (or heard) his *Hamartigenia* (867–930), where a long passage is dedicated to the eyes of the soul which can see everywhere and everything. The

monk of Wenlock was also tormented by these struggles and his own sins were loudly accusing him. Such auditory moments occur much more frequently in medieval visions than in modern NDEs and may well be a sign of the oral character of medieval society.[70] All his evil deeds manifested themselves, even those which he himself had considered to be rather innocent. Van Uytfanghe suggests that this scene comes very close to the modern life review, but the resemblance is only superficial as we will see in the final section of this chapter.[71]

In the mean time, the monk noticed various pits with horrible flames. Although in the Old Testament pits are typical of Gehenna (Ch. 1.3), this place was not yet hell, since some of the souls he saw would be saved at the Last Judgement; on the other hand, the souls whose terrifying screams he also heard were those whom God would not pardon and who would burn forever. Subsequently, he saw Paradise with a multitude of people, as in the *Passion of Perpetua* (Ch. 5.2), while an incredibly sweet odour constituted the food of the blessed. Paradise was adjacent to a river of fire which souls tried to cross over a narrow bridge.[72] Although many fell off, in the end they all managed to arrive in Paradise, as their sins had been only light. The monk was also able to see enormously long and high walls, which separated Paradise from the Heavenly Jerusalem,[73] but those walls, and the souls that were hastening towards them, were too luminous to be looked at. We also find this element of a border in the vision of Dryhthelm (above) also, but it is relatively rare.

At this moment in his vision, the monk of Wenlock tells various events that occurred to another monk, a young female thief, and an abbot who is defended by angels, as all good persons are on earth he hastens to add. He also saw the aforementioned King Ceolred, who is temporarily shielded by angels with a large book, presumably the Gospels, but who are unable to continue protecting him when they hear of all his crimes and sins. Nevertheless, the king was still alive when the monk left him. Subsequently, the monk is ordered to return and to recount his experiences to all who would be genuinely interested in his story, in particular to a certain priest Beggan, but not to those who would make fun of him. Moreover, he had to tell a certain woman that she could still reconcile herself with God, if she was truly penitent. The monk did not want to return to his horrible body, but had no choice. Resistance to returning is very normal in our visions,[74] but unlike modern accounts it quite often goes together with a certain horror of the body – an element which seems to fit the more ascetic times of our visions. After his return, the monk remained blind for a week and his eyes often dripped blood; his memory, too, was no longer as good as it had been. According to Boniface, the truth of the vision was confirmed by the death of King Ceolred soon afterwards.

Both these reports display some aspects of both classical and modern NDEs, that is, conversion and verification. Drythelm completely changes the course of his life, and both reports clearly try to look as authentic as possible by invoking the testimony of sources and witnesses. Yet, most of the modern

elements, such as the feeling of peace, the tunnel, the hovering above the body, the life review, and meetings with deceased relatives, or even brethren, are generally missing. The absence of the last element is especially puzzling. Does it suggest that relationships in early medieval monasteries were rather cold?

A comparison limited only to modern elements, however, would prevent us from noticing a vast difference between classical and medieval visions. No reader can fail to notice the extremely detailed descriptions of the hereafter and the stress on even the smallest sins. Both aspects cannot be separated, and they are illustrative of a major change in the attitude towards sins that developed in the last century of the Roman Empire.[75] In the Roman Empire, Christians modelled their ideas of penance on the power of mercy of the emperor and his governors. Consequently, it was possible for Christians to believe that God could wipe clean a slate filled with human sins with one stroke. Since Augustine and his struggle against the Pelagians, sins had come to play a much more important role in the life of the Christians. For Augustine it was clear that all sins, even the smallest ones, had to be duly purgated in this life or in the next. Penitence thus became for him the centre of spirituality that must guide all Christians through their daily lives.[76] Regarding God's mercy, Christians in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England had no late antique models of penance at their disposal. They lived in a world in which all debts had to be paid and all wrongs atoned. Consequently, when their penitential practice became highly influential in the Western Christian world through their missionaries,[77] a redefinition of penance took place, as we can see in the visions of Drythelm and the monk of Wenlock. After death, sins would now pursue the deceased, and their journey to heaven would become a perilous one.

The corollary of this development was an elaboration of the afterlife. The rewards of the saved and the punishments of the damned had now to be painted vividly in order to deter the faithful from their sins. That is why these visions are so clearly didactical in purpose. At the same time, we also notice that there is not yet a full tripartition in the other world. Purgatory is still a sub-division, so to speak, of either hell or heaven. It would still be some centuries before it would develop into a fully 'independent' place called *purgatorium* (Ch. 5.3).

3. **Modern NDEs**

Let us conclude our survey of the NDEs with a closer look at the individual elements of the modern NDEs. There are a number that are still unexplained, such as the element of peace and great calm, which is curiously missing in Moody's model; people who nearly drowned have told me of the same experience. After this moment of peace there comes the separation of the 'I' from the body, when the 'I' often watches the body from a spectator position, sometimes from a corner high up in the room, and hears what the bystanders are saying. Verification seems to be one function of this position, since it

enables those with a NDE to report what they observed. The position also indicates that the near-death feel that they are moving upwards. This experience seems to suggest that we are still conditioned very much by the image of heaven as a place somewhere up high, despite the many discoveries of astronomy and the space industry. These discoveries may well take a long time to enter the subconscious and to force us to rethink our metaphysical concepts.

Concerning the separation, the normal experience seems to be a feeling of being separated from the body by passing through a dark place, often explained as a tunnel. We could think of this element as the necessary period of liminality between being in the body and leaving it. The description, though, seems typically modern. How many people in earlier periods would have known of a tunnel? Is it pure chance that in India and China the tunnel is absent from NDEs? Does this experience say something about the way we experience deep down the passing through a tunnel and the feeling of relief when we, literally, see the light at the end?

Considering our interest in the soul in these chapters, we cannot fail to notice that in the primary sources, the nearly-dead usually speak of their experiences as, 'I left the body' and not, 'my soul left the body', although the soul is sometimes mentioned in secondary analyses. This suggests that most people do not use the category of the soul when thinking about themselves, although, on an intellectual level, they know of its existence. One may even wonder to what extent the mention of the soul in monastic stories of the earlier periods is not primarily a construct of the educated classes.

Unlike classical and medieval visions, the meeting with relatives or close friends is experienced by about half of the nearly-dead. This surely is a reflection of the disappearance of the separate worlds of man and women and the emergence of the nuclear family as the centre of our affection in the course of the last two centuries. In some American experiences Vietnam War comrades are introduced – a reflection of the very close ties that can be formed through shared periods of great stress. Once again, it makes us wonder about the nature of the personal relationships of the Middle Ages. Another person who is regularly met is a being of light, who is often not identified. Whereas earlier generations were immediately certain that they had met angels, modern people lack this certainty, unless they are brought up strongly religiously. Significantly, they only meet the being of light, but are not guided by him: modern man travels by himself and no longer needs supernatural help. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, in her *'Reading' Greek Death* (Ch. 1.2) has persuasively argued that the need for Hermes as a guide arose only when the afterworld was perceived as farther away.[78] Might this mean that 'heaven' is perceived by modern man as something 'round the corner'?

At this moment the experiencer often sees his life pass by in a moment. This so-called 'life review' or 'life film' was already noted before modern NDEs. Scientific interest started in 1892 when Albert Heim, a Swiss geologist who had an NDE while mountain-climbing in 1871, published an article on

similar experiences of mountain climbers.[79] It is important to note that these reviews are non-judgemental. Just like hell, frightening demons or a kind of Last Judgement are generally absent from the NDEs: one more testimony to the disappearance of hell from the modern imagination and deeply felt beliefs (Ch. 6.3). Can it be that the relatively late appearance of reports of the life film have something to do with the development of the diorama and its reinforcement by the train in the nineteenth century, which enabled people to see a fast succession of scenes as they had never been able to do before? [80]

In their stay in the afterworld the NDEs often describe a feeling of immense love and protection. The visionaries also often see a kind of heavenly city, but it is striking that in this city God is often no longer mentioned nor are there any angels. This seems to me to be an important step towards, if not the ultimate expression of, modern secularisation. Evidently, we still believe in a kind of 'life everlasting', but for many of us in the Western world the other world is no longer filled with traditional Christian images.

The period in this world of love and protection – the reverse image of our modern chaotic, unsafe world – cannot last for ever and there has to be a return, albeit usually involuntary. The 'I' returns to the body and wakes up. As with some medieval reports, there is often a marked change to the previous life. The 'nearly-dead' display more concern for others, have a strengthened belief in the afterlife, and regularly become more religious.[81] But it is a religiosity of a different kind than before. They no longer need the mediation of the Church, since they already had direct contact with the other world. In these stories there is a strong aspect of 'conversion', albeit not in a religious way, but in a modern personal manner: the NDE makes people a better person.

It is time to conclude. What do the modern NDEs tells us about the afterlife? In opposition to what has often been suggested, they do not seem to prove the existence of the 'life everlasting', but testify to the continuing decline of the afterlife. Heaven is still made of gold and marble, but it is rather empty, except for a few relatives, and even God is no longer there. It has now become a means for psychological improvement, not our final destination: salvation is not outside but within us. As such, it is a clear reflection of the modern world, where the development of the individual more and more becomes the main goal of life. Evidently, every age gets the afterlife it deserves.[82]

APPENDIX 1

WHY DID JESUS' FOLLOWERS CALL THEMSELVES 'CHRISTIANS'?

Recent investigations by ancient historians hardly pay any attention to the figure and role of Christ in the Christianisation of the Roman Empire. This neglect is not only modern: Gibbon too disregarded him in his famous analysis of the rise of Christianity.[1] This omission has something curious about it, since studies of the rise of early Christianity might naturally have been expected to say something about the relevance of the founder of the faith to his followers. It is therefore the aim of this appendix to show that (section 1) early Christianity had an affective relationship with Christ, (section 2) that a proper evaluation of the position of Christ in early Christian belief is a precondition for the understanding of the meteoric rise of early Christianity and (section 3) that this relationship played a major role in the self-designation of the early followers of Christ as 'Christians'.

1. The importance of Christ

It is certainly true that in certain sectors of early Christian literature Christ did not figure very clearly as an identifiable human being, who had been crucified on Golgotha. Second-century apologetics, which tried to make the Christian faith respectable in the eyes of educated pagans, portrayed Christ as the incarnation of the Logos – hardly a figure to be very intimate with.[2] And in the contemporaneous apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* Jesus is not pictured as really human but as God; in these *Acts* Jesus remains 'invisible' and the apostles have taken his place as the person to imitate.[3] However, a rather different picture emerges when we look at the early Christian *Acta martyrum*.[4]

We will take as our point of departure the martyrdom of Polycarp. When the Roman governor asked Polycarp to curse Christ, he answered: 'For eighty-six years I have been his slave (cf. below) and he has done me no wrong. How can I blaspheme against my king and saviour?' (*Polycarp* 9.3), while the account of his death states, in reaction to Jewish agitation, 'little did they know that we could never abondon Christ, for it was he who suffered for the redemption of those who are saved in the entire world, the innocent one dying on behalf of sinners. Nor could we worship anyone else' (17.2); Carpus cried

out when the fire was set beneath his cross 'Lord Jesus Christ, you know that we suffer this for your name's sake' (*Carpus, Papylus and Agathonice* [Latin version] 5); Perpetua walked to the arena 'as a *matrona* of Christ' (*Perpetua* 18.2); Maximillian has 'the sign of Christ' and is therefore unable to accept 'the seal of the world' (*Maximilian* 2.4); Marcellus can serve only 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, the almighty Father' (*Marcellus* 2.2); Euplus has received the holy Gospels 'from my Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God' (*Euplus* 1.5) and Gallonius is *Christi devotus*.[5]

The presence of Christ in the martyr even assumed mystical colours in some of the *Acta*. When the Lyonese martyr Sanctus was cruelly tortured, 'Christ suffering in him achieved great deeds of glory' (*Martyrs of Lyons* 23), and when Felicitas, labouring in the pains of childbirth, was asked how she would endure the terrors of the arena, she answered 'then there will be another one in me who will suffer for me, just as I shall be suffering for him' (*Perpetua* 15).[6] The mystical presence may also explain the state of ecstasy which helped martyrs bear their tortures. In its account of the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Smyrnean church relates that 'some indeed attained to such courage that they would utter not a sound of a cry, showing to all of us that in the hour of their torment these witnesses of Christ were not present in the flesh, or rather that the Lord was there present holding converse with them. Fixing their eyes on the favour of Christ, they despised the tortures of this world, in one hour buying themselves an exemption from eternal fire' (*Polycarp* 2.2). And after Blandina was being tossed a good deal by a bull, 'she no longer perceived what was happening because of the hope and possession of all she believed in and because of her intimacy with Christ' (*Martyrs of Lyons* 56).

These quotations demonstrate that the early Christians had an affective relationship with Christ.[7] They also show that students of early Christianity have to be attentive to the mode of discourse in that literature. Schematically we could say, using a favourite distinction of modern French historiography, that early Christian apologetic, theological and fictional literature shows Christianity *conçu*, whereas the *Acta martyrum* more illustrate how it was *vécu*. A proper evaluation of early Christianity has to take into account both these aspects.

2. Christian and pagan adhesion to one god

Ancient historians' misjudgement of the position of Christ also precludes a proper understanding of the rise of early Christianity.[8] Naturally we cannot analyse here the whole of this complicated issue, as a proper understanding has to account for the various ways Christianity fulfilled the religious, social, moral and intellectual needs of its time. Here I want to limit myself to some observations as to how the love for Christ fitted into the religious climate of the Roman empire. The close relationship between Jesus and his followers is regularly characterised in Paul (*Romans* 1.1, *Philippians* 1.1, *Titus* 1.1),[9] the

Apostolic Fathers (*1 Clement* 60.2; Ignace, *Magn.* 2), the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles* (*Acta Petri* 30, 41) and the *Acta martyrum* (*Polycarp* 9.3) by the term *doulos*.[10] This self-designation of Jesus' followers as his 'slaves' has its counterpart in the designation of Jesus himself as the *Kyrios*, the 'Master' or 'Lord', a title occurring 184 times in the New Testament.[11] A. D. Nock, like W. Bousset and A. Deissmann before him, has rightly connected this title of Christ with a development in Hellenistic piety, in which gods are represented as absolute rulers and addressed by such titles as *kyrios*, *despotês* and *tyrannos*. According to Nock, in Christianity the title *kyrios* 'implies a belief in the divine overruling of the individual, who receives commands from on high'. This is certainly a too one-sided view, as Nock paid insufficient attention to the correlation between the title *kyrios* and the self-designation of the faithful as slaves of god so-and-so. It is this self-designation which has been studied in an important contribution by my compatriot Pleket, who has demonstrated that even before the Hellenistic–Roman period we can find traces of a close affective relationship between deity and worshipper. This dependency was strengthened and disseminated in the Hellenistic–Roman period under oriental influence and in connection with the rise of autocratic political systems. As Nock before him, Pleket noted that 'these elements acted as a sort *of praeparatio evangelica* for the common man whose head was not crammed with theological dogma, and facilitated the transition to a structurally subservient religion [Christianity]'.[12]

The shift from polytheism to adhesion to one god first manifested itself in the so-called oriental cults of the later classical era, but in the Roman period its spirit also pervaded established pagan religion.[13] However, in early Christianity this adhesion to only one god seems to have assumed more intense forms than in competing, pagan cults.[14] Consequently, a neglect of Christ overlooks an important aspect of early Christianity.

3. Jesus' followers as 'Christians'

An additional argument for the importance of Christ can be found in the name 'Christian', since the early Christians not infrequently connected their name with Christ. For example, in his *Scorpiace* (9.8–9) Tertullian observes that whoever confesses to be a Christian also testifies to belong to Christ (*Christi se esse*), and a similar connection between 'Christian' and 'Christ' occurs in the Greek version of *Carpus, Papylus and Agathonic* (5). The connection looks only natural to us: surely, the followers of Christ called themselves 'Christians'! Yet this was not the case in early Christianity. Other names, such as 'the way', 'the faithful', 'the catholics' or 'God's people', were more frequent in the first two centuries.[15]

It is strikingly only the Antiochene (cf. below) church father Ignace who regularly uses the term, but it is lacking in *1 Clement* and Tatian and rare in Irenaeus and Hippolytus; Athenagoras even speaks of the 'so-called Christians'.[16]

Which factor(s), then, helped to get the name established? Various solutions have been proposed, of which the one by Von Harnack has been the most influential: 'er [i.e. the name 'Christian'] allein war gegen jede Verwechslung geschützt'.[17] However, his very practical solution insufficiently takes into account the fact that at one particular occasion the pronunciation of the name 'Christian' was not only normal but virtually obligatory.

Before studying this occasion we will first look at the origin of the term 'Christian'. In *Acts* (11.26), Luke relates that Jesus' followers were called 'Christians' first in Antioch.[18] This is the usual translation, but Elias Bickerman has argued that the Greek usage of *chrêmatizô* obliges us to accept a translation which lets these followers style themselves Christians. Moreover, he sees in the choice of the word 'Christian' the wish of the Christians to avoid the term *doulos* sounding too much like the terminology of oriental gods. Instead, so Bickerman claims, they styled themselves Christiani as, 'agents, representatives of the Messiah'. Both views of Bickerman are unpersuasive. First, Karpp has noted that the use of *chrêmatizô* does allow the traditional translation. We may add that it would indeed be hard to understand why it took so long for 'Christian' to become the accepted self-designation of the early followers of Christ, if the followers themselves had coined the term. Second, Bickerman's translation of 'Christian' will hardly do, since the ending *-iani* (as in Caesariani, Agrippiani, Herodiani or Pisoniani)[19] also indicates a clientele of basically dependent people. Moreover, various passages in the New Testament show that early Christians called themselves 'slaves of Christ' (section 2). We really have no sufficient information to solve the problem, but Peterson's hypothesis that Jesus' followers received their designation from the Roman authorities at least explains the fact that the Jewish–Hellenistic followers of Christ eventually adopted a Roman word-formation.[20]

If the precise origin of the term 'Christian' is still obscure, we can perhaps be more certain about the way the name became the accepted self-designation of the followers of Jesus. Once again we take our point of departure in a passage from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. After the proconsul had insisted that Polycarp should swear by the emperor's Genius, the bishop answered: 'If you delude yourself into thinking that I will swear by the emperor's Genius, as you say, and if you pretend not to know who I am, listen and I will tell you plainly: *Christianos eimi*'(10). This straightforward statement did not deter the proconsul from continuing his attempts to persuade, but finally he sent his herald to the centre of the arena to announce: 'Three times Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.'[21]

Evidently, this was the essential information which had been gathered in the course of the interrogation and it firmly established Polycarp's guilt. In its direct or indirect form, this formula of 'I am a Christian' occurs in virtually all the *Acta* which have been recognised as authentic; it is only lacking in the reports of the martyrdoms of *Montanus and Lucius* and of *Felix*. Usually, the confession is placed right at the beginning of the proceedings, but in some

cases the declamation is the climax of the hearing, following the refusal to partake in pagan ritual.[22] The Christians even volunteered this confession without being asked, as *Euplus* well illustrates: 'In the consulship of our lords Diocletian (for the ninth time) and Maximian (for the eighth time) on the 29th of April (304), in the most famous city of Catana, in the court room, in front of the curtain, Euplus shouted out: "I wish to die, *Christianos gar eimi*" ' (1).

The statement 'I am a Christian' clearly is the answer to the simple question 'Are you a Christian?',[23] which question enabled the Roman magistrates to minimise the rather embarrassing situation that they were trying people who were not really guilty of any obvious crimes. As the Christian Lucius said to the urban prefect Urbicus after he had ordered Ptolemaeus to be executed: 'What is the charge? He has not been convicted of adultery, fornication, murder, clothes-stealing, robbery, or of any crime whatsoever; yet you have punished this man because he confesses the name of Christian' (*Ptolemaeus and Lucius* 15–16). The magistrates' embarrassment with the situation clearly appears from their hesitation in putting martyrs to death. In order to reach their goal, which was apostasy and not destruction, they offered the martyrs delays ranging from three hours to three months.[24]

The magistrates' embarrassment is shared by many a modern ancient historian. Why, indeed, were the Christians persecuted? In the best modern analysis of the problem, De Ste Croix has summarised his views on the reasons for the condemnation of the Christians by quoting with approval the following words of E.G. Hardy (1852–1925): 'The Christians subsequently to, *as before* [italics mine], the rescript of Trajan were punished generally for the name, i.e. . . . for the inherent disloyalty to the state involved in their *atheotés* [atheism], and manifested in the *obstinatio* with which they clung to it.' It must be stressed that these reasons are hard to find in early reports of martyrs' processes, and Brunt has therefore rightly questioned the validity of this view for the second century. As the latter observes, it leaves unexplained the reason why Trajan did not order the tracking down of these elements so dangerous to the state: all he did was to require that the Christians sacrificed to the gods.[25] This approach was indeed slavishly followed by all Roman magistrates whose behaviour we can observe in the earliest *Acta martyrum*. By making sure of the fact that the persons in front of them were guilty of being Christian, they could cut short the unpleasant task of interrogating and torturing civilised people.[26] Lane Fox has well noted that this conclusion risks 'becoming circular, as if Christians were persecuted because they were Christian'. His own solution is that with the conviction of Paul 'The Emperor's justice had distinguished Christians from Jews, a point which was not lost on senators, the provincial governors of the future.' This may be doubted. Would the Roman elite have had any interest in the execution of a Jew of modest status?[27]

However this may be, it is in any case certain that the only occasion where the followers of Jesus publicly used the self-designation 'Christian' was in confrontation with Roman magistrates. The inference seems therefore justified

that the affirmative response 'I am a Christian' to the question of the Roman magistrates 'Are you a Christian?' became the main factor in the self-designation of Jesus' followers as 'Christians'.[28] The importance of the persecutions in promoting the name 'Christian' seems to be confirmed by the non-literary evidence. In papyri the term first appears in the earlier third century but becomes more popular only after AD 250. This is also the case with inscriptions,[29] in which, perhaps not surprisingly, the term first turn up in Phrygia, an area where the difference in religiosity between pagans, Christians and Jews was much less pronounced than elsewhere in the Roman empire.[30] Surely, these dates can hardly be separated from the empire-wide persecution of Decius.[31] It was only now that the term 'Christian' would come to everybody's attention and would be adopted by the followers of Jesus in defiance of the Roman government. What probably originated as a term of derision, now became a term of honour, legitimised by the blood of those women and men who preferred to die for their faith instead of sacrificing to the Roman emperor.[32]

APPENDIX 2

THE BIRTH OF THE TERM 'PARADISE'

The first chapters of *Genesis* mention a landscaped, enclosed park, full of fruit-trees, planted by God himself, with a river running through it and possibilities for walking. The translators of the *Septuagint* have called this park *paradeisos*.[1] The enormous impact of the Biblical description of Paradise has been often studied and its main lines are now well known.[2] Less familiar is the development of the term 'paradise' itself. Recent studies are not really very informative in this respect. According to Joachim Jeremias, *paradeisos* is an Old Iranian ('Altiranisches') loan word which first means 'tree garden', 'park' and is subsequently used to denote the Garden of Eden as '*Gottesgarten*' in order to distinguish it from profane parks.[3] Although his explanation, which is representative for most modern approaches to the problem, is not totally wrong, it is not really fully right either. In order to provide a more exact answer to this question I will look at the term in the early Achaemenid period (section 1), the later Achaemenid period (section 2) and at its development in the post-Achaemenid era (section 3), and conclude with a discussion as to why the translators of *Genesis* opted for this specific word to translate the Hebrew term *Gan Eden* (section 4).

1. The early Achaemenid era

The etymology of Greek *paradeisos* is not disputed. It most likely derives from Median **paridaeza*, 'enclosure', **pari* being 'around' and **daeza* 'wall'.[4] As more often, the Greeks took their words from the Medes rather than from the Persians, just as, e.g., Greek *satrapês* is the Median form of this Iranian title.[5] Like its Old Persian equivalent **paridaida*,[6] the Median form is not attested in the few surviving Old Persian texts and it is unlikely that it will ever turn up in Median writings, since the Medes never seem to have developed a script;[7] however, the Median form does recur in the later Avestan *Videvdad* as *paridaeza* (3.18).

The occurrence of such a Median term as loanword in Greek, and, as we soon shall see, Akkadian, Hebrew and Aramaic, is one more testimony to the influence of the enigmatic Medes. The tribe itself has left very little traces and

its early history is hard to reconstruct, but the fact that the Greeks called their formidable Eastern opponents first Medes and only later Persians, attests to their former importance; similarly, the Jews speak of Medes in *Isaiah* (13.17, 21.2) and *Jeremiah* (51.1, 28), but of Medes and Persians only in the post-exilic books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Daniel*.[8] The increasing attention to linguistic derivations, which has become possible with the growing insight into the Median and Persian dialects, will perhaps shed more light on this problem in the future.[9]

If its linguistic and etymological background is clear, the precise semantics of the term are more problematic. Given the absence of early Iranian material we will have to take recourse to its use as loanword in more or less contemporary Akkadian and Elamite texts in order to reconstruct its meaning in the oldest period of the Persian, multicultural empire. We start with the Babylonian texts. Virtually immediately after the Persian capture of Babylon in 539 we find three Babylonian documents of the last decades of the sixth century,[10] in which temple authorities are responsible for maintaining and establishing *pardesu*. One of these is a vineyard, another is associated with planting date-palms and making bricks, and a loan document of 465/4 BC mentions an 'upper *pardesu*' (i.e. at the upper side).[11]

We find more information in only slightly later Elamite texts. After the fall of the Elamite empire in the seventh century, the Persians settled on its former territory and kept Elamite as the official language of their bureaucracy in Persis until about 460. In the 1930s excavators found hundreds of clay tablets in Elamite in Persepolis which, depending on their place of finding, were published as *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (*PTT*) and *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (*PFT*).[12] The former, 114 in all, can be dated to the period between 492 and 460 BC, when clay was probably given up in favour of parchment. From the latter more than 2000 have now been published, belonging to the years between 510 and 494 BC. It is especially in the *PFT*, which have been identified as tax-receipts,[13] that we regularly find mention of something called *partetas*, which the authoritative Elamite dictionary considers as corresponding to Old Persian **paridaida*.[14]

From the texts there emerge the following meanings. *Partetas* figure as storage places for natural produce, such as figs, dates, peaches, apricots, pomegranates and 'royal grain', mostly fairly close to Persepolis. It could also be the place in which a food-product, *kar*, was made. Although the size of a *partetas* was rather modest, it was large enough to contain sheep for a celebration of a religious ceremony, perhaps a sacrifice to Ahuramazda. Finally, there is a clear connection with trees. One tablet inventories 6166 seedlings at five places, including three *partetas*, in which there are also 4931 trees.[15] The prominence of trees may be surprising, but the Persians attached great value to trees. This is already illustrated by a letter from Darius I to Gadatas, probably the overseer of a local 'paradise', the *paradeisarios*, a term which recurs in Syrian as *pardayspana*, in the oldest Armenian texts as *partizpan* and in the

New Persian epic *Shanameh* as *palezban*.[16] In the letter the king praises Gadatas for cultivating in Western Asia Minor the fruit trees of Syria and berates him for taxing the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to till profane soil.[17] A certain Pythios, perhaps the grandson of Croesus, gave Darius a golden vine and plane-tree, which remained very famous until they were melted down by Antigonus in 316 BC.[18] When finding a fine plane tree a day east of Sardis, Xerxes decorated it with gold and appointed a perpetual guardian.[19] Cyrus the Younger showed Lysander the *paradeisos* at Sardis and claimed to have personally planted some trees (section 2). Strabo (15.3.18), who probably goes back to fourth-century sources, even mentions that during their education the Persian boys 'late in the afternoon are trained in the planting of trees'. It is surely this great concern with trees which made Plutarch relate that Artaxerxes II once gave permission to his soldiers, when they were very cold, to fell trees in *paradeisoi* (section 2) 'without saving pines or cypresses', while he himself felled the largest and most attractive tree (*Life of Artaxerxes* 25).[20]

We can now draw our first conclusions. In the early Persian Empire two closely related words were current for 'paradise' : Median **paridaeza* and Old Persian **paridaida*. The latter was adopted in the Elamite *Kanzleisprache*, the former by Babylonians, Greeks and Jews (section 2). Secondly, early Iranian 'paradise' had no fixed meaning. It could be a storage-place, vineyard, orchard, stable, forest or nursery of trees. Evidently, it was a kind of *vox media* of which the most prominent element was the enclosure. Thirdly, none of these descriptions closely fits the Garden of Eden yet.

2. The later Achaemenid period

Having looked at the earliest occurrences of the word, let us now turn to its examples in the later Achaemenid era. The connection between trees and 'paradise', which we noted in the Elamite *partetas*, recurs in the *Old Testament*, where in *Nehemiah* (2.8) the homonymous protagonist requests building wood 'to make beams for gates of the palace' from the overseer of the king's *pardes*. The passage seems to derive from Nehemiah's original memoir, which dates from the second half of the fifth century, and thus is a valuable testimony to the presence of Persian 'paradises' not only in Anatolia but also elsewhere in the Persian empire. Nehemiah does not mention the location of his 'paradise', but it may have been situated in Lebanon.[21] King Solomon imported cedars from Lebanon for the building of the temple (1 *Kings* 5); carpenters from the region are already well attested in Babylon in the early sixth century, and in 538 BC the royal administration ordered the Sidonians and Tyrians to bring cedars from Lebanon.[22] Trees also figure in the *Song of Songs* (4.13–14), which was perhaps written in Jerusalem around 400 BC.[23] Here we find a '*pardes* of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire with spikenard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense'.

There is a chance that *paradeisos* already appeared in Greek literature in the later fifth century. According to the Aristotelian pupil Clearchus, the sixth-century Samian tyrant Polycrates of Samos used to imitate the luxury of the Lydians and even had 'constructed in the city the famous "[Red-light] Quarter" of Samos to rival the park at Sardis called Sweet Embrace'.[24] The passage probably derives from Clearchus' *Lives* where he relates: 'The Lydians in their luxury laid out *paradeisoi*, making them like parks and so lived in the shade . . . they would gather the wives and maiden daughters of other men into the place called, because of this action, Place of Chastity, and there outrage them'.[25] As Clearchus elsewhere in this passage must have used the Lydian historian Xanthus,[26] an older contemporary of Herodotus, it seems not unlikely that Clearchus also derived his information about Polycrates from Xanthus. If this is true, it means that Xanthus was perhaps the first Greek to use the term *paradeisos* in writing. This would not be unlikely, since being a Lydian he may well have known the Sardian *paradeisoi* (below) personally.

Unfortunately, the passage is not crystal clear. The most likely interpretation seems to be that in order to enjoy the shade the Sardians laid out *paradeisoi*. As befitted *paradeisoi* (section 1 and below), they consisted of trees, but the Sardians apparently had transformed them into a more cultivated environment than the normal Persian ones (below), with perhaps pavilions to receive their 'guests'. In any case, there was a house and a place with a canopied bed in the Babylonian *paradeisos* where Alexander the Great died,[27] and pavilions long remained a characteristic feature of Persian parks.[28] At first sight it may be surprising that Clearchus speaks of *paradeisoi* in the plural, but the texts frequently speak of multiple *paradeisoi*. Some earlier examples are, presumably, the *paradeisoi* in Susa (Ael. *NA* 7.1), the wild parks (below) of Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15, 33), the hunting *paradeisoi* given to Demetrius Poliorcetes in his place of exile (Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius* 50) and the Syrian cypress-*paradeisoi* mentioned by Theophrastus (*HP* 5.8.1).

We move on firmer ground in the fourth century when we find the first certain occurrences of the term *paradeisos* in the works of Xenophon.[29] Unfortunately, the chronology of his works is not very clear, but it seems reasonable to start with the *Cyropaedia*, a novel-like book in which Xenophon displays much of his knowledge of the Persian empire. Here he lets Astyages tell his grandson, the future Cyrus the Great: 'I will give you all the game present in the *paradeisos* and collect many more, which you, as soon as you have learnt to ride, may pursue' (1.3.14). In fact, Cyrus proved to be such an enthusiastic hunter in the *paradeisos* that his grandfather was unable to collect enough animals for him (1.4.5): not surprisingly, since it was only a small one (1.4.11). Astyages' insistence on the hunt had evidently left a big impression on Cyrus, for he ordered his satraps to 'lay out *paradeisoi* and breed game' (8.6.12), and when he had acceded to the throne 'he would lead those nobles, whom he thought in need of it, out to the hunt in order to train them in the art of war, since he considered the hunt by far the best preparation for war . . . and

whenever he was bound to stay at home, he would hunt game reared in the *paradeisoi*' (8.1.34–8).

We receive a more detailed picture of a specific *paradeisos* in the *Oeconomicus* through an anecdote which goes back to Lysander's own report according to Xenophon. When Cyrus the Younger showed the Spartan Lysander his *paradeisoi* in Sardis, Lysander admired 'the grandeur of the trees, the uniform distances at which they were planted, the straightness of the rows of the trees, the beautiful regularity of all the angles and the number and sweetness of the odours that accompanied them as they walked around'.[30] Cyrus was not the only one to have *paradeisoi* in Sardis. Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis during Xenophon's Persian service, had a *paradeisos* in the same region, which he called Alcibiades because of the latter's charm.[31] His *paradeisos* contained a river and had been laid out at great expense with plants, meadows and 'all other things that contribute to luxury and peaceful pleasure'.[32] A Sardian third-century tax inscription also mentions the gift of two *paradeisoi*, which had once been given by King Antioch, to a temple.[33] Tissaphernes had another house in Tralles and recently published evidence suggests that he there also owned a *paradeisos* – in any case, epigraphical evidence attests to a place called Paradeisos in the third century BC.[34]

Xenophon supplies additional information about specific *paradeisoi* in the *Anabasis*, the report of his wanderings as a mercenary in the Anatolian part of the Achaemenid Empire, which dates from the first decades of the fourth century. In Kelainai, the capital of Greater Phrygia, he saw the palace of Cyrus the Younger and 'a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals, which he [Cyrus] hunted on horseback whenever he wanted to exercise himself and his horses.[35] The Maeander River flows through the middle of the *paradeisos*' (1.2.7). Further to the west Cyrus' army found the 'very large and fine *paradeisos* with everything which the seasons produce' of Belesys, the satrap of Syria, which Cyrus had 'chopped down'; the term clearly suggests the presence of trees (1.4.10).[36] A similar type of *paradeisos*, 'large, fine, and thick with all kind of trees', was situated in Babylon near the Tigris (2.4.14, 16).

Finally, in the work of his old age, the *Hellenica*, Xenophon lets us meet Pharnabazus, the hereditary satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, in his capital Daskyleion.[37] Here the Persian had his palace and 'very fine wild animals, some in enclosed *paradeisoi*, some in the open country. A river full of all kinds of fish ran past the place' (4.1.15–16). However, this idyllic area had not escaped the ravages of war, but, as Pharnabazus complains, 'my father left me fine buildings and *paradeisoi* full with trees and wild animals, in which I delighted, but I see all of that cut down and burned down' (4.1.33).[38]

Our last example comes from the Roman antiquarian Gellius. When discussing the word *vivarium* he quotes Varro, the most learned Roman of the Late Republic, that '*vivaria*, the term now used for certain enclosures in which wild animals are kept alive and fed, were once called *leporaria*'.[39] Of these *vivaria* Gellius (2.20.1, 4) adds that the Greeks call them *paradeisoi*.We have

no idea as to how Gellius acquired this knowledge, but given the paucity of references to wild animals in *paradeisoi* in the post-Achaemenid period he will have derived his information, directly or indirectly, from a Hellenistic, perhaps historiographical source.

What have we learned so far about these 'paradises'? First, the passages in *Nehemiah* and the *Songs of Songs* seem to suggest that, in addition to the hunting *paradeisoi* attested by Xenophon, other meanings of Persian 'paradise', such as orchard and place to grow trees, remained alive. Second, the early Greek *paradeisoi* are related to the Iranian ones only to a limited extent. They are not orchards, vineyards or storage-places – phenomena for which the Greeks of course had words of their own. On the other hand, as is stated explicitly in *Hellenica* 4.1.15, they were enclosed and in this respect they reflect their Iranian origin. Thirdly, they seem to be a relatively unknown phenomenon to the Greeks, since in his *Oeconomicus* Xenophon effectively glosses the term by saying that 'there are parks, the so-called *paradeisoi*' wherever the king goes; in other passages the description sufficiently indicates the meaning of *paradeisos*.[40] Fourthly, these particular 'paradises' were characterised by a modest size, vicinity to other ones,[41] the presence of animals, water (be it a river or a lake), the prominence of trees and, in general, by lush vegetation. Although such 'paradises' have not yet turned up in Babylonian and Elamite texts, they were not absent from the Persian heartland, since the *paradeisos* in Susa was irrigated (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 34), and Cyrus' tomb in Pasargadae was situated in a *paradeisos* with a grove 'with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow'.[42] Fifthly, these *paradeisoi* were the possession of the highest Persian aristocracy.[43] Although he does not mention the term, Curtius Rufus (7.2.22) clearly alludes to the *paradeisoi* when he calls the *magnos recessus amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis* of Media the *praecipua regum satraparumque voluptas*. They may therefore have become emblematic of Persian authority, as the choice by the Phoenicians in their revolt of 351 BC of the 'royal *paradeisos*' for their first target seems to suggest.[44] Sixthly and finally, unlike the 'paradise' in *Genesis*, the hunting *paradeisoi* were filled with wild animals and served the Persians to keep themselves into condition for war via hunting.

3. The post-Achaemenid era

After the fall of the Achaemenid empire the hunting *paradeisoi* quickly disappeared, since the hunt did not play the same role in the life of Alexander the Great and his successors as it did among the Persian magnates. Only the already quoted *paradeisoi* of Demetrius Poliorcetes in the immediate post-Achaemenid era still remind us of the traditional hunting *paradeisoi*. However, other *paradeisoi* continued to exist, but without the wild animals. We can note this change already fairly early in the third century, since in 246 BC the small Cretan polis of Itanos dedicated a 'holy *temenos*' near the gate,

presumably a kind of public garden, as *paradeisos* to Ptolemy III (246–221).[45] This surely was not a hunting park. Neither, presumably, were the *paradeisoi* attached to royal residences, which are mentioned in a late third-century papyrus from Tebtunis;[46] other combinations of palaces and parks, as listed below, clearly suggest that these *paradeisoi* were parks as well. In the third- and second-century *Septuagint*,[47] *paradeisos* is connected with water (*Numeri* 24.6; *Isaiah* 1.30) and trees (*Ezekiel* 31.8, 9), strongly contrasted with the desert (*Isaiah* 51.3) and other desolate places (*Joel* 2.3),[48] and a sign of great wealth (*Ezekiel* 28.13), but nowhere do we hear about animals. In *Ecclesiastes*, which seems to date from the third century BC, Solomon says: 'I have made me gardens and *pardesim*, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits' (2.5). As in the already-mentioned case of the *Song of Songs*, modern translations use 'orchard', and indeed, in modern Hebrew the word for 'orchard' is *pardes*.

Early examples of 'paradisiac' orchards probably occur in a demotic Egyptian text, which is a translation of a lost Greek original. In this comprehensive survey of Egypt under Ptolemy II (308–246) in 258 BC a census was ordered of 'the embankments that are ploughed and cultivated, specifying orchard by orchard the trees with their fruits', that is, presumably, the various *paradeisoi*.[49] More orchards can be found in later documentary papyri from Egypt, which contain numerous references to *paradeisoi*.[50] These 'paradises' will have been utilitarian gardens, since their avarage size is extremely small, mostly less than a hectare. It is therefore not surprising that we occasionally hear about them being sold or bought, such as the *paradeisoi* bought 'from the state' (*P.Tebt*. I.5.99: 118 BC) or the 'royal *paradeisos*' bought by an Apollonius in 235 BC (*P.Tebt*. III.1.701.175f). Although these *paradeisoi* can supply a considerable amount of bricks,[51] they often contain various kinds of trees, from fig-trees to conifers, in addition to the fruit-trees. Olives and palms must have been common, since we regularly find an *elaiônoparadeisos*, a *phoinikoparadeisos* and, perhaps inevitably, an *elaiônophoinikoparadeisos*. These Egyptian *paradeisoi* normally also have basins and wells. The *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, which was written in Egypt in the early second century BC and translated into Greek towards the end of the same century, well illustrates their irrigation by actually mentioning 'a water channel into a *paradeisos*' (24.30). Although these smaller Egyptian *paradeisoi* do not contain rivers or possibilities for walking, they must have been attractive enough for *Ben-Sira* to state that 'kindness' and 'fear of the Lord' are 'like a *paradeisos*' (40.17, 27).[52]

The connection of Solomon with *paradeisoi* in the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* may have helped later generations to identify certain *paradeisoi* with those of famous kings. In any case, Josephus mentions that Solomon's *paradeisos* at Etan contained flowing streams (*AJ* 8.186) and near Jerusalem there was a spring in King David's *paradeisos* (*AJ* 7.347), which was perhaps different from the royal 'paradise' four stades from Jerusalem (*AJ* 9.225). Hyrcanus (135–104 BC) followed his royal 'predecessors' or Ptolemaic contemporaries by constructing a *paradeisos* 17 kilometres west of Amman, the present Araq el

Emir (*AJ* 12.233).[53] Near Jericho there were also 'very dense and beautiful *paradeisoi*' spread throughout an area of some 45 square kilometres with many nice trees, palms, cypresses and, especially, balsam.[54] And just as Xenophon enhanced the beauty of Pharnabazus' *paradeisos* by letting him bewail its loss, so Josephus illustrates the desolation of Judaea after the Jewish revolt by mentioning the Roman destruction of the *paradeisoi* (*BJ* 6.6).

Pardes also recurs in some Aramaic fragments of the Dead Sea scrolls. In an early second-century fragment of *Enoch* (4Q206 3 21 =*1 Enoch* 32.3, also mentioned in 4Q209 23 9) we read about the '*Pardes* of Justice', a place with many trees, including the Tree of Wisdom as we can read in the more fuller preserved Ethiopian version. And in a very fragmentary text from the *Book of Giants* (6Q8 2 3), which dates of the time of the beginning of the first century,[55] there survives only a reference to 'this *pardes*, all of it, and', shortly before preceded by 'its three roots', presumably of the one tree that survived the angelic cutting down of all the others.[56] However, none of these texts suggests the picture of a park with water, pavilions and walking amenities.[57]

The latter possibility must have been a feature of at least some *paradeisoi* in the Hellenistic era, since the learned Byzantine bishop Photius (*Lexicon* 383.2) defines *paradeisos* as: 'a place for walking [*peripatos*] with trees and water', which comes very close to the description of *Genesis*. As we have seen (section 2) Lysander walked with Cyrus the Younger in his *paradeisos*; in the book *Susanna*, which is perhaps to be dated to the later second century BC,[58] Susanna also walks in her husband's *paradeisos* (7, 36), which was enclosed (17, 20) and even contained a place to bathe (15, 17). The presence of walking possibilities probably explains why Lucian (*VH* 2.23) called the Platonic Academy a *paradeisos* and why the Rhegion *paradeisos*, which had been planted by the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, was turned into a gymnasium.[59] Photius adds that comic authors (*PCG* Adespota 523 Kassel-Austin) even used the term *paradeisos* for highly insensible individuals – people one could trample on. Unfortunately, he does not specify them, but we probably have to think of New Comedy, that is of post-Achaemenid times, since such walking possibilities are mentioned only once regarding the Xenophontic wild parks. Trees, as we have seen, were already an outstanding feature of the Persian *paradeisoi* and they would remain so all through ancient history, from Xenophon to the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and Procopius.[60] Even the talking trees met by Alexander in India were situated, naturally, in a *paradeisos*.[61]

In Roman times the *paradeisoi* became even more cultivated, as appears from the *paradeisoi* in the second-century Greek novels of Longus and Achilles Tatius. There are still springs and trees, both barren and fertile ones, but the landscape has become much more artificial. We now notice the presence of meadows and flowers planted in beds: roses, daffodils and hyacinths; instead of the wild animals of earlier times the 'paradise' is now inhabited by swans, parrots and peacocks.[62] However attractive these parks had become, in Roman times the word remained a loanword for the Greeks and it was avoided by fanatic purists.[63]

Admittedly, in the Roman period the Persian royal hunts were still remembered, but, interestingly, they were now quoted in a negative way. Apollonius of Tyana (1.37) declined to join the Persian king in hunting in his *paradeisoi*, since it gave him no pleasure 'to attack animals that have been ill-treated and enslaved against their nature'. Dio Chrysostom (3.135–7) even lets the good king abhor the 'Persian hunt', although he considers hunting an excellent preparation for war: 'those people [the Persians] would enclose the game in *paradeisoi* and then, whenever they wanted to, killed the game as if it were in a pen, showing that they neither sought physical exercise or danger, since their game was weak and broken in spirit'. The thought is perhaps far-fetched, but is it totally impossible that in these protests against killing enslaved animals there is something of a hint at contemporary Roman *venationes*?

It cannot even be excluded that the detractors of the 'Persian hunt' had heard about contemporary hunting *paradeisoi* further to the East, since an event in the Persian expedition of Julian the Apostate demonstrates that these had continued to exist. The historian Zosimus (3.23.1–4) relates that in the neighbourhood of Meinas Sabatha, a city near the Naarmalcha canal which runs between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Roman army came 'to an enclosure which they called the "King' s Chase". This was a large area enclosed by a small wall and planted with all kinds of trees, in which all sorts of wild animals were locked up. These received more than plenty of food and offered the king very easy opportunities for hunting whenever he wanted.' From the parallel notice in Libanius (18.243) we gather that the '*paradeisos*' was situated close by the palace. In fact, this is perhaps the best description of what a hunting *paradeisos* will have looked like with the obligatory elements of the enclosure, trees and wild animals, which Ammianus (24.5.1–2) specifies as lions, bears and boars. The vicinity of the palace is already well attested in Xenophon (section 2), in *Chronicles* (the case of Manasseh: section 4), in Ptolemaic Tebtunis (above), and in *Susanna* (4: Susanna's very wealthy husband's *paradeisos* is adjacent to his house). The vicinity remained a feature of Persian grandees in the novel, where the combination of palace and *paradeisos* already points to the courtly parks of later Persian, Islamic and Byzantine magnates (n. 28).[64]

Let us conclude our observations on Persian hunting with a few more observations. When the Persians started to conquer Greece, they occupied the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, one after the other, and caught the people as with drag-nets in the following manner according to Herodotus: 'having joined hands, the men stretch right across the island from north to south and then move over the whole of the island, hunting everybody out'.[65] In this case the prey were people, but the great Swiss scholar Karl Meuli adduced a number of examples from early to early modern Chinese and medieval Mongolian sources to show that indeed Oriental rulers used their armies as enormous battues in order to surround large animals and kill them. By analogy we may presuppose similar battues for the Persians, since in a source

neglected by Meuli, the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, we are told that Abba Milesius met two sons of the Persian king who had gone hunting 'according to their custom. They spread nets around a wide area; at least forty miles, so as to be able to hunt and shoot everything that was found inside the nets.'[66] The story has no need for beaters, but surely behind the two royal princes there must have been an army of Persians to chase the game into the nets. Herodotus uses the verb *sagêneuô* for the Persian tactic and the noun *sagênê* is also used for the Greek hunt on the tunafish, again a tactic to catch as large a group of prey in the nets as possible.[67] In fact, hunting with nets was so important for the Persian aristocracy that the art of net making was part of their education (Strabo 15.3.18).

Meuli also observed that some of these Oriental rulers made wild parks in order to hunt more at ease – understandably, since their 'army hunts' could last up to four months. Consequently, he suggests that the Persians, too, had constructed their *paradeisoi* in connection with their battues. This conclusion is attractive but probably goes too far. The Oriental wild parks are only attested for the Middle Ages and were very large (the one of the son of Dzengish Khan, Ögädäi, had a circumference of two day-journeys), whereas the evidence we have strongly suggests that the average Persian *paradeisos* was much smaller and, at least to some degree, landscaped (section 2).

It may be sufficient to draw only a few conclusions from this section. First, *paradeisoi* occurred mainly in areas once dominated by the Persian empire. Secondly, the variety of usage of the Iranian 'paradise' survived the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Thirdly, with the disappearance of the Persian elite their hunting *paradeisoi* had vanished as well, except for the more eastern parts of the former empire. Fourthly, in the course of time the Graeco-Roman *paradeisos* became more and more artificial.

4. Conclusion

Before answering the question as to why the translator(s) of the *Septuagint*, in the third century BC, chose *paradeisos* to render the Hebrew *Gan Eden*, we have to solve one other problem. Why did the translators not prefer the equally possible Greek term *kêpos*, 'garden'? Like the *paradeisos*, the *kêpos* is connected with water (*Isaiah* 1.29), but it is clearly simpler than the majestic *paradeisos* and only the place of 'herbs' (*Deuteronomium* 11.10; 1 *Kings* 20.2). This is perhaps the reason that, as apparently David (*Nehemiah* 3.16LXX), King Manasseh was buried in his *kêpos* in 2 *Kings* (21.18) but in the third-century 2 *Chronicles* (33.20) in his *paradeisos*, a version followed by Josephus (*AJ* 10.46). This impression of greater simplicity is confirmed by what we know about the *kêpos* from other sources. Admittedly, Greek gardens have long been neglected, but recent investigations have considerably clarified their picture.[68] These gardens were primarily wanted for their productivity and closely connected with residential housing. They were small, walled, intensely cultivated and

loved for their vegetables and flowers; moreover, their luxuriant growth often evoked sexual associations.[69] In other words, for the Jewish translators the word *kêpos* will have hardly conjured up the image of a royal park worthy of Jahweh.[70] That is probably also the reason that Alcinoos' Utopian garden in the *Odyssey* (7.114–31) is compared with paradise only once in the whole of early Christian literature.[71] Still, in some places the difference between *kêpos* and *paradeisos* may have been relatively small, and in first-century Tebtunis we actually find a *kêpoparadeisos*.[72]

But if the translators preferred *paradeisos*, which 'paradise' did they have in mind: the Persian one (section 1), the early Greek one (section 2), or those in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt or contemporary Palestine (section 3)? We can most certainly discard the old Persian meanings of storage room or vineyard and the usage attested in Xenophon, since neither God nor Adam display any interest in hunting nor do they drink alcohol. We can almost certainly also neglect the *paradeisoi* of later Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, since they were too small, too simple and too utilitarian to be worthy of Jahweh. This leaves us the contemporary royal *paradeisoi* in Hellenistic times, as they are somewhat dimly visible in various descriptions: royal parks with many trees, suitable for walking, less wild than their Persian predecessors but more foresty than their later Roman descendants.[73]

Such parks of course fit the time of the *Septuagint*, which started to be translated in Alexandria in the second quarter of the third century BC.[74] Our knowledge of early Alexandria is sketchy, but it has increasingly been recognised that the royal palace of Ptolemy II was inspired by the Persian palaces with their *paradeisoi*; his *paradeisos* actually seems to be reflected in the description of King Aeëtes' palace in Colchis by Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 3.219–29).[75] There is also a clear indication for an association of Jahweh's *paradeisos* with the world of the Ptolemies. Just over a decade ago the papyrologist Geneviève Husson drew attention to the translation of *Gan Eden* in *Genesis* (3.23) as *paradeisos tês tryphês*.[76] As she pointed out, *tryphê* was a term much used by the Ptolemaic monarchy to characterise its leisurely life with its prosperity and magnificence. Three kings were surnamed Tryphon and various princesses Tryphaena; in Roman times, *tryphê* even became synonymous with the 'good life'.[77] Clearly, the time of the Ptolemies was no longer the era of Cyrus with its physical hardship and sweat, but the world of wealth, leisure and luxury. Behind the *paradeisos* of the heavenly king in the *Septuagint* version of *Genesis*, there loom the cultivated *paradeisoi* of the all too earthly rulers of contemporary Egypt.

EXCURSUS 1: 'PARADISE' IN CYPRUS

According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the Cypriots had their own term for a 'paradise': *ganos: paradeisos hypo de Kypriôn* (223.47). The lemma (223.42ff)

derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (300.16–20 De Stefani), which in turn derives from the Middle Byzantine *Lexicon aimôdein* (γ 3 b-8 Dyck), which explains Agathias, *Hist*. 2.28, although this passage does not contain the 'Cypriot' information.[78] On Cyprus, the term perhaps occurs in *ICS* 309.12 (*ka-no-se*);[79] another possibility may be an inscription from Mytilene (*IG* XII.2.58.(a) 17). Traces of the same lemma occur in Hesychius, s.v. *ganos: paradeisos*, which Kurt Latte, its most recent editor, assigned to Diogenianus, on the basis of the occurrence of the same explanation in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (223.47) and the indication of the dialect. Although such a conclusion is valid for some cases, it is not correct in this particular one, since the lemma in the *Etymologicum Magnum* certainly derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the lemma in Hesychius must derive from Cyril's glossary.[80] We may also note Hesychius s.v. *ganea: kêpous* and *Etymologicum genuinum* s.v. *ganos*, where the term is paraphrased with *gê*, 'earth' (= *Etymologicum Magnum* 221.18ff.).

The conclusion seems to be that the Cypriots had derived their term *ganos*, like some other words,[81] from their long Phoenician association.[82] Its meaning was evidently glossed by some lexicographers from a context (contexts?) which now escapes us.

EXCURSUS 2: PARADISES IN THE *ORACULA SIBYLLINA*

When Jesus told the criminal on the cross that he would be in Paradise on that very same day, both of them undoubtedly would have thought of the *Urzeit* Garden of Eden, which in the intertestamentary period became increasingly identified with the *Endzeit* Paradise.[83] But how exactly did they envision this Paradise? We will never know, but the *Oracula Sibyllina* may provide some clue. This very heterogeneous collection contains several pictures of (kinds of) Paradise, the oldest of which goes back to the second century BC. Let us look at three Sibylline oracles that all are basically Jewish, even though they may derive from different periods.[84] It is well known that the precise nature of these oracles and the chronology of the individual books of the *Oracula* is highly debated,[85] but we will not be bogged down in those discussions and stick to the most reasonable dates.

1. *Oracula Sibyllina* III

We start with the descriptions in the oldest Sibylline book, *Oracula* III. In his authoritative discussion, John Collins considers this book to derive from Egyptian Judaism around 163–145 BC, but recent discussions are more reticent and less sure of themselves.[86] One can now hardly state a very specific date with extreme confidence, and it seems safer to say that the oracles

originated in the first century BC, in any case before Vergil and Horace made use of them.[87] However this may be, the first picture of a kind of Paradise in this world is told after the prophecy of the destruction of the Macedonians by a 'great king from Asia' (611):[88]

> And then God will give great joy to men,[89]
> for earth and trees and countless flocks of sheep
> will give to men the true fruit
> of wine, sweet honey and white milk
> and corn, which is best of all for mortals.
>
> (619–23, tr. Collins)

At first sight the connection of honey with trees may surprise, but hollow trees as suppliers of honey already figure in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (233).[90] The combined mention of milk, honey and wine is traditional in descriptions of the Golden Age.[91] From where did the author derive this triad of natural fluids (with honey admittedly less fluid than the other two)? He certainly must have known the biblical expression 'a land of milk and honey', which occurs several times in the Old Testament and is usually connected with the land that God has promised to his people.[92] It is symbolic of a rich country, but also of a country where the products of the land come naturally without any effort by the farmer's hand. As it is so often mentioned in a promise, it was only natural to use the expression also in a characterisation of the earth after the defeat of God's enemies, as in *Oracula* V (282–3), a Jewish oracle from about AD 100. In fact, our author could have easily referred to this biblical pairing only, but why did he add wine instead?

In his seminal study of the place of milk, honey and wine in ancient ritual Fritz Graf has noted that milk and honey are constitutive for 'Selige Vergangenheit, Gegenwart oder Zukunft', with wine usually being absent in these descriptions.[93] The Italian classicist Casadio has taken him to task for these words, since according to him 'nel repertorio dionisiaco (come è abbastanza ovvio) sia in quello sibillino il vino è tutt'altro che assente'.[94] At first sight, this is indeed 'obvious'. But things are rarely what they seem to be, certainly not in the Dionysiac sphere. When we look at the available evidence, we can only note that Dionysus indeed manifests himself with milk, honey and wine, but not necessarily with *all* of these three fluids. Well known are of course the verses in which Dionysus manifests his power in Euripides' *Bacchae*: 'the ground flows with milk, it flows with wine, it flows with the nectar of bees' (142–3); similarly, in the report about the maenads we hear that: 'for her the god sent up a spring of wine. Those who had a longing for the white drink scraped at the earth with their finger-tips and had streams of milk; and from the ivy thyrsoi dripped sweet honey' (707–11, tr. R. Seaford).[95] The connection with the maenads recurs in Horace (*Od.* 2.19.9–12), but Seneca (*Oedipus* 491–6) slightly varies the triad by replacing honey with thyme, a

plant much loved by bees. Finally, from this Dionysiac or Sibylline tradition, milk, honey and wine also occur in the picture of the heavenly Jerusalem in Lactantius (*Div. Inst*. 7.24.7).

On the other hand, Plato (*Ion* 534A), Aeschines (fr. 11 Dittmar) and Antoninus Liberalis (10) mention only milk and honey, as Claudian still does in his description of the wedding of Stilicho (*Cons. Stil*. 1.85), whereas Euphorio (*Suppl. Hell*. 430 ii 24 Lloyd-Jones/Parsons) even seems to mention only milk in connection with the maenads. Finally, Callixinus (*FGrH* 627 F2.31) mentions the combination of wine and milk in his famous description of the Dionysiac procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, as do Philostratus (*Im*. 1.14) and Claudian (*Rapt. Pros*. 2.351–3) in his description of another wedding, that of Hades and Persephone. We may conclude, then, that Graf wrongly supposed wine to be absent in pictures of a 'selige Gegenwart', but Casadio is equally wrong in supposing that wine is always present in Dionysos' epiphany. Depending on the context, it was evidently possible for authors to vary their picture of a blissful situation. In any case, it seems certain that our author eventually derived the mention of wine from a Dionysiac context.

It is rather striking, though, that the traditional occurrence of the three fluids in such a Utopian context is undercut by the mention of grain, 'the best of all for mortals'. Now the role of grain had become extremely important in Greek ideology since the Sophists, in particular Prodicus.[96] However, given the Egyptian origin of the oracle it is hard not to also think of the pre-eminent position of Isis in Egypt as protrectress of fertility. Herodotus (2.59, 156) had already identified her with Demeter, and in true Euhemerist fashion Diodorus Siculus (1.14.1–3) had made her the inventress of arable farming. Lack of further information, though, prevents us from drawing any clear conclusion.

It is stated somewhat later in *Oracula* III, after the coming of the Last Judgement (741–4) but before the eternal Kingdom (767–95), that there will come to the people 'a great judgement and beginning':

> For the all-bearing earth will give the most excellent unlimited fruit
> to mortals, of grain, wine, and oil
> and a delightful drink of sweet honey from heaven,
> trees, fruit of the top branches, and rich flocks
> and herds and lambs of sheep and kids of goats.
> And it will break forth sweet fountains of white milk.
> The cities will be full of good things and the fields will
> be rich. There will be no sword on earth or din of battle,
> and the earth will no longer be shaken, groaning deeply.
> There will no longer be war or drought on earth,
> no famine or hail, damaging to fruits,
> but there will be great peace throughout the whole earth.
> King will be friend to king to the end of the age.
> The Immortal in the starry heaven will put in effect

a common law for men throughout the whole earth
for all that is done among wretched mortals.
For he himself alone is God and there is no other,
and he himself will burn with fire a race of grievous men.
(744–61, tr. Collins)

Geffcken, who is followed by Gauger, bracketed 746–8, whereas Lactantius (*Div. Inst*. 7.20) ascribes these three verses to the Erythraean Sibyl, the oldest of the many Sibyls that populated the imagination of the Roman empire and probably the most famous.[97] There is indeed no Jewish or Christian touch in these verses, except of course for the mention of the uniqueness of God (760).

Once again, we are confronted with the gift of grain, wine but now also oil, which is rather unusual in this context. We meet oil only once more in a description of the 'good old times' in Onesicritus' (*FGrH* 134 F 17) report on the gymnosophists. According to one of them, Calanus, there were fountains with milk, wine, honey, water, wine and olive oil 'in olden times'. This was of course before man became unhappy with this kind of simplicity. Oil, then, may well have come from such a 'culture-critical' kind of literature. It is indeed more natural that 749 follows now with the milk than the intervening verses, which look very much inspired by the absence of honey in the classic enumeration of the fluids of the Golden Age.[98] The detailed report on herd-animals, in particular, is hardly part of the original prophecy.

The absence of war is of course another standing topic in such descriptions. It is already part of the picture of the Golden Age in Teleclides (F 1 K.-A.), and a recurring feature of the Golden Age in Roman literature.[99] It is rather interesting that the Sibyl uses here the word *kudoimos*, which seems to be the *terminus technicus* in descriptions of the absence of war; witness its presence in Empedocles' (B 128 DK) description of the era without Ares and in Aratus' description of the Golden Age in his *Phaenomena* (109). In Hellenistic literature, though, the theme became refined by the mention of the introduction of the sword, which we find first in Aratus' description of the Bronze Age (131). It was taken up by Cicero in his translation of Aratus (fr. 17 Buescu) and from there made its way into Vergil (*G*. 2.539–40), Tibullus (1.3.47) and Ovid (*Met*. 1.99).

Very unusual, if not unique, is the mention of the absence of earthquakes. Now it was common knowledge among the Greeks and Romans of the time that they occurred very rarely in Egypt,[100] although the locals told Strabo (17.1.46) that an earthquake had caused the partial collapse of one of the *kolossoi* of Memnon. In any case, this is such a strange item in these traditional descriptions that I would be inclined to correlate its mention with the memory of a recent earthquake.

The absence of war finds its counterpart in the presence of peace, which is expressed by the friendship among kings and the presence of a general law for all. In the friendship between kings we may see the wish to see an end to the warring Hellenistic kings of the period. Although Dike already figured in

Aratus' Golden Age (*Phaen*. 113), the notion of a common law is probably derived from the Stoics. As v. 768–9 shows, 'he who once gave the holy Law to the pious', the law is the Mosaic law, a fairly rare idea.[101] However, such a Jewish interpretation is perhaps to be expected in the Sibylline Oracles.

A last picture of heavenly bliss is given after the establishment of the eternal Kingdom and the coming into being of a peaceful situation where the prophets are kings and wealth is honestly gained:

> Rejoice, maiden, and be glad, for to you the one
> who created heaven and earth has given the joy of the age.
> He will dwell in you. You will have immortal light.
> Wolves and lambs will eat grass together with kids.
> Roving bears will spend the night with calves.
> The flesh-eating lion will eat husks at the manger
> like an ox, and mere infant children will lead them
> with ropes. For he will make the beasts on earth harmless.
> Serpents and asps will sleep with babies
> and will not harm them, for the hand of God will be upon them.
> (785–95, tr. Collins)

As Norden already noticed, in such prophecies the mention of joy is a traditional theme, which is not absent from the New Testament (*Luke* 2.10) either.[102] The announcement of *lux perpetua* is equally traditional. There is a continuous fascination with light from the moment that the Orphics started to elaborate an attractive afterlife.[103] Light also features in Vergil's (*Aen*. 6.641) and Valerius Flaccus' Elysium (1.842); even Claudian's Hades promises Proserpina *lumen purius* (*Rapt. Pros*. 2.283–4). This aspect will become *the* striking characteristic of heaven for the Christian faithful.[104]

Peace in the animal kingdom and peace between ferocious animals and humans are two different motifs, which are harmoniously united here. The first is once again ascribed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Lactantius (*Div. Inst*. 7.24.12), and of course, like the second motif, is an adaptation of the famous prophecy from *Isaiah* (11.6–8). This is a rare purely Jewish contribution in this connection, which also influenced the author of *2 Baruch* (73.6) and Philo (*de praem*. 85–90). It should moreover be noticed that the author of the *Oracula* could not have found the motifs in his Greek literature, since they are absent there. As even the references to animal peace in Vergil (*Ecl*. 4.22) and Horace (*Ep*. 16.51) point rather to the absence of wild animals, the uniqueness of the passage is the more striking.[105]

2. *Oracula Sibyllina* II

We now turn to Book II, which is commonly dated to AD 100–150 and is considered by John Collins to be of Jewish origin but possibly modified by

a Christian author:[106] After a detailed picture of the fate of the unjust, it is said that

> the others, as many as were concerned with justice and noble deeds,
> and piety and most righteous thoughts,
> angels will lift them through the blazing river
> and bring them to light and to life without care,
> in which is the immortal path of the great God
> and three springs of wine, honey and milk.
> The earth will belong equally to all, undivided by walls
> or fences. It will then bear more abundant fruits
> spontaneously. Lives will be in common and wealth will have no division.
> For there will be no poor man there, no rich, no tyrant,
> no slave. Further no one will be either great or small any more.
> No kings, no leaders. All will be on a par together.
> No longer will anyone say at all 'night has come' or 'tomorrow'
> or 'it happened yesterday', or worry about many days.
> No spring, no summer, no winter, no autumn,
> no marriage, no death, no sales, no purchases,
> no sunset, no sunrise. For he will make a long day.
>
> (313–29, tr. Collins)

Subsequently we find here the following motifs:

a. *Sources of wine, milk and honey* (318). We have already studied the motif, which the poet of *Oracula* II clearly derived from the Dionysiac sphere. We may note, however, that he innovated by letting milk and honey come from wells, which in classical literature we do not find before Seneca's *Oedipus* (495).
b. *Communal ownership of land and the absence of any walls or hedges* (319–20). It is rather strange that this theme seems to be attested only in Roman literature where it enjoyed a great popularity in descriptions of the Golden Age or the *Saturnina regna.* The theme comes to the fore in Vergil's *Georgica* (1.126–7). Franz Bömer (on Ovid, *Met.* 1.135) suggests that it belongs to the 'hellenistische Topik', but he does not supply any parallels nor have I been able to find any. In any case, such an origin would not explain the sudden popularity of the theme in Roman poetry of the second half of the first century BC, which can hardly be dissociated from the traumatic experiences of the civil wars when property was anything but safe.[107]
c. *Food grows without agriculture* (320–1). Although only touched upon, the theme is stressed by the enjambement of *automatê* (321). It is perhaps not chance that the poet pays very little attention to the theme, since it had often been described in the Greek poetical tradition, starting from Hesiod

(*Op*. 118) and culminating in Old Comedy, where descriptions of food growing automatically or being limitlessly available were highly popular.[108]

d. *No social hierarchy and thus no slavery* (322–4). The theme of 'automatic' food unsurprisingly leads to a description of a non-hierarchical, slaveless society, since the combination of both themes was well established in Old Comedy, as appears from Crates' *Wild animals* (F 16 K.-A.), Cratinus' *Ploutoi* (F 176 K.-A.) and Teleclides' *Amphictyones* (F 1 K.-A.), which Lucian (*Sat*. 7) probably had in mind in his picture of the Saturnalia. In Old Comedy, though, slaves never had the upper hand and there was clearly a limit to the imagination of reversals.[109] However, our author goes much further. He not only 'abolished' slavery but also had no place for tyrants, kings and rulers. It seems that he had 'updated' the old motifs by reference to his own age with its powerful rulers. Unlike one might have expected, this did not make him into an anarchist *avant la lettre*, since the vision did not envision an acephalous society. On the contrary. All human rulers will be replaced by the *pantokratôr* (330) god, a popular epithet of God from the Jewish tradition.[110]

e. *Eternal light and the abolition of seasons* (325–9). In this paradise there will be no more night or day, but there will be light for ever. We have already commented upon the importance of light (section 1) and we will add here only that our passage reminds us of *Revelation* (21.23, 22.5), where it is said that there will be no more sun or moon, since the splendour of the Lord will give light. In turn, *Revelation* may well have been influenced by the prophecy in *Zechariah* (14.6–7) that 'it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear, nor dark: But it shall be one day which shall be known to the LORD, not day, nor night: but it shall come to pass that at evening time it shall be light.' The *Septuagint* slightly modified verse 6 by translating 'on that day there shall be no light nor cold or frost'. This clearly hints at the abolition of seasons and may well be in the background of our passage.

The disappearance of all seasons is somewhat surprising, since in Roman times eternal spring becomes a recurrent feature of the Golden Age and the *locus amoenus*.[111] In the afterlife, too, the all too short Mediterranean spring can be found among both pagans and Christians (Ch. 5.2). Yet the absence of seasons is not completely absent from Greek utopian tradition, since, in a description of life in the reign of Kronos, Plato (*Politikos* 272A) already mentions that the seasons had been tempered so as to cause primeval man no grief. Similarly, in the Utopian picture of Horace's *Epode* 16 (56), Jupiter is said *utrumque rege temperante caelitum*, 'moderating each of the two [extremes of climate]'. The disappearance of the seasons probably reached its finest expression in a hymn (9) of Ephræm the Syrian (*ca*. 306–73 AD), in whose Paradise the souls of the blessed are even depicted as living in trees which offer shelter, fruit and perfume (Ch. 5.2). In all these cases, the phenomenon is a good thing. However, it

could also appear as a perversion of nature. According to Lactantius (*Inst. Ep.* 66.5), the time of the *senectus mundi* is also the time of *hieme atque aetate confusis*.[112]

3. *Oracula Sibyllina* VIII

As Norden observed, 'Die judaeischen Sibyllinen strotzen von pöbelhaften Ausfällen gegen Rom' (*sic*).[113] Anti-Roman prophecies indeed fill the first half of *Oracula* VIII, which is commonly dated to the later second century AD. Among its oracles is an eschatological prophecy, which may be of Jewish origin but which seems to have been revised in a Christian key:

> There will be a resurrection of the dead
> and most swift racing of the lame, and the deaf will hear
> and blind will see, those who cannot speak will speak,
> and life and wealth will be common to all.
> The earth will equally belong to all, not divided
> by walls or fences, and will then bear more abundant fruits.
> It will give fountains of sweet wine and white milk
> and honey.
>
> (205–12, tr. Collins)

The Christian character of these verses seems clear through the reference to the resurrection, which until now had been absent from depictions of a blissful paradise and Jewish images.[114] The following beneficent reversal of physical defects looks very much like *Matthew* 11.5, which, in turn, draws upon the many similar pictures from *Isaiah*.[115] The passage is closed by verses taken from *Oracula* II (318–21), which we have already discussed and which do not add anything new.

4. The *Oracula Sibyllina*: a fusion of traditions

Having looked at the individual motifs we can conclude that the various Jewish authors hardly made use of their own tradition but mainly drew on pagan literature for their elaboration of Paradise. Perhaps only the disappearance of the seasons is a new motif, but even here we cannot be certain of the authors' originality, considering the loss of so much ancient literature. The reception of pagan material is not as strange as it looks. Once the Hellenising Jews of the intertestamentary period elaborated their eschatology, what else could they do but have recourse to pagan descriptions of similar places? These pagan *topoi* were perfectly appropriate and helped to fill the void of their own tradition. And they were not alone in this procedure, since the Christian imagination of the afterlife drew equally heavily on pagan culture (Ch. 5.2). In this respect, Judaeo–Christian traditions were more indebted to their pagan environment than many of their later followers have realised.[116]

APPENDIX 3

GOD'S HEAVENLY PALACE AS A MILITARY COURT

The Vision of Dorotheus

Some years after the Second World War a number of papyri were discovered a few miles to the northeast of Nag Hammadi, which subsequently were named *Bodmer Papyri* after their owner, the Swiss collector Martin Bodmer. Although they thus were found in the same region as the famous collection of Coptic Gnostic manuscripts,[1] they do not seem to have been part of that library.[2] In 1984, a team from Geneva published the first nine pages of a codex from the *Bodmer Papyri*, a poem of 343 epic hexameters, called *The Vision of Dorotheus*.[3] The edition was not a philological or historical milestone, but the editors deserve our gratitude for their decision to prefer a speedy publication over a lengthy delay. Fortunately, in 1987 my compatriots Kessels and Van der Horst published a revised text with an English translation and a short commentary, the best to date.[4] The *Vision* gives a highly idiosyncratic picture of God's heavenly palace and therefore deserves some attention in our study. In this appendix I shall first summarise the vision (section 1), then briefly discuss its date and the name of the author (section 2), and conclude with his milieu and intention (section 3).

1. *The Vision of Dorotheus*

After the protagonist of the vision, Dorotheus (section 2), has thanked God (1–3), he relates how he received a vision when he was sitting in the imperial palace at noon – *the* time for an epiphany in antiquity.[5] He sees himself standing in the forecourt of the palace of God, whom he views in full glory (10–16). Very abruptly the picture changes. Dorotheus relates how he was sitting as *ostiarius* (gatekeeper) in the middle of the *praepositi* (commanders) of the divine bodyguard, in the company of a (the?) *domesticus* (administrator) of God (16–18). In the following, very fragmentary passage Christ appears (19) with Gabriel (24), the only angel who is mentioned by name. The protagonist receives a great privilege, as he is changed 'in form and in stature'(19–41). He now becomes a *tiro* (recruit) near the *biarchoi*, a lower rank in the imperial bodyguard (42–52).

Again, there follows a damaged passage, in which the protagonist three

times commits an offence. Firstly he fails to pay the honour due to God, at which he is again reduced to the ranks of *ostiarius* (56, 120, 131), a function he does not carry out as he should (61, 132); in addition, he seems to be back in his old body. Secondly, he slanders the *domesticus*, and, finally, he tries to mislead Christ in the presence of his Father (53–95). These trespasses are followed by a moment of regret and self-reflection (96–109), but he receives short shrift from Christ, who has him thrown into prison (96–142).

Here an enraged Christ orders him to be whipped until his bones become visible. But Dorotheus perseveres and, despite it all, he is restored to his function of *ostiarius* (143–67). For this severe beating, God thanks Christ and Gabriel (168–81), both of whom now call on Dorotheus to appear before God's face. At first, God wants to send him away, but Christ and Gabriel put in a word for him and maintain him in his position (182–97). Dorotheus has another, unfortunately unclear, request, which results in his washing himself. Then God asks him whether he really wants to stand near the gate. When Dorotheus assents, he has to choose a patron and he chooses Andreas (198–226).

He is now called Andrew and is baptised by Jesus in order to put the seal upon his new name. Immediately, he assumes a new, much larger and younger figure. Christ addresses him in an encouraging way and points out that now, when exercising his duty, he has to demonstrate restrained courage (227–77). While the fragmentary state of the papyrus allows no certainty, it seems that his courage is now being put to the test. When Dorotheus has proved himself, Christ positions him near the gate after having inspired him with courage. He is dressed in the uniform of the *scholae palatinae* of which he is clearly proud (297–337). Then he awakens from his vision and writes finally: 'I prayed to be a messenger in the service of God Most High of all the things that he laid upon me. And in my heart he has laid songs of various kinds so as to keep guard and sing about the deeds of the righteous and also of Christ the Lord, year after year ever more delightful for a singer' (339–43).

2. Author and date

When was this poem written and who was the author? Unfortunately, the date of the codex with the *Vision* is not completely clear, and it has been assigned both to the second half of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century.[6] Although the personal hand of the *Vision* makes the dating difficult, the earlier period seems more attractive.[7] The *editio princeps*, followed by Kessels and Van der Horst (n. 4), suggests that the actual poem was written around the turn of the third and fourth century. Their dating is based on two pierces of evidence: the name of the poet, Dorotheus son of Quintus 'the poet' (l. 300 and the *subscriptio*), whom the first editors tentatively identify with Quintus Smyrnaeus, and the mention of a Dorotheus who was martyred under Diocletian (Eus. *HE* 8.1.4). Van Berchem seems to put the date a little later, as he compares the outfit of Dorotheus (cf. below) with that of the soldiers on

Galerius' arch at Thessalonika.[8] Finally, Enrico Livrea (n. 3, 692) proposes a date between 342–62 on the basis of an eighth-century tradition that a 107-year-old (!) Christian bishop of Tyre, Dorotheus, was martyred under Julian the Apostate.

The publication of the rest of the codex has now confirmed that the author of the vision was indeed called Dorotheus son of Quintus.[9] This Quintus could conceivably be the poet Quintus of Smyrna, whom various indications put between the mid-third century and the early fourth century.[10] However, an analysis of the military terms in the vision can put the dating on a much more solid basis. Admittedly, in his extensive review of the *editio princeps*, Livrea (n. 3, 687) has called the many functionaries mentioned in the *Vision* 'misteriosi personaggi', as if they were beings from a different planet. Yet, it is these functionaries who provide us with an important key towards the dating, since they can help establish a *terminus post quem*.

Given the presence of many soldiers in a military organisation close to God in his heavenly palace, it seems a reasonable working hypothesis that Dorotheus has transferred the organisation of the imperial guards to God's palace.[11] If the poem dates from the period of Diocletian, we would expect to find a reflection of the contemporary organisation of praetorian guards. On the other hand, if the poem is of a later date, we may expect to find the cavalry units which Constantine introduced after he disbanded the praetorians in 312.[12] And indeed, cavalry ranks are exactly what we find here, witness a well-known passage from Jerome in which they are enumerated.[13] Jerome's pamphlet dates from 396, which still leaves a chronological gap of about 80 years. Can we be more precise?

The presence of the *biarchos* (43) in the imperial *schola* is first attested in 327.[14] The *domesticus* (18, 86–7), who is closely connected with the *praepositus* (86–7), is most likely one of the *tribuni* of the *schola.* This *domesticus*, who is rarely found in our sources, is first mentioned in 355 but only under Valentinian I (364–75) did the rank became firmly institutionalised. The '*primicerius* of the Lord' (49) is perhaps modelled on the *primicerius notariorum*, who is first attested in 381. Ammianus (25.8.18), though, mentions a *primus inter notarios omnes* as early as 363, and Libanius' correspondence with Bassus suggests that the latter was *primicerius notariorum* in 358. However, the fact that those members of the *schola notariorum*, who were above the grade of *domestici et notarii*, became *clarissimi* after 367 points rather to the time of Valentinian I; the more so as Julian had greatly reduced the number of *notarii*. Finally, the end of the *Vision* mentions the *orarium* (322), a kind of cravat, which in its military meaning is mentioned only in a papyrus dated to the period 360–450 AD. All indications, then, point to a date for Dorotheus somewhere in the second half of the fourth century. Consequently, the tradition of a martyr called Dorotheus under Julian the Apostate, as quoted by Livrea, would be possible in theory. However, this can hardly be his aged bishop. Studies of the martyrs under Julian the Apostate do not accept the

authenticity of this tradition,[15] and the qualification of Dorotheus' literary activity as 'outstanding with words' certainly does not fit our amateur poet.[16] A mid-seventh century papyrus does indeed mention a martyr Dor(otheus?), but its fragmentary state prevents us from knowing anything more.[17] The identity of our Dorotheus, then, has to remain an enigma, but the connection with Quintus of Smyrna remains possible.[18]

3. Milieu and social position

Despite our ignorance of the identity of the author, can we still infer something about his milieu and social position? It is evident that the author knows Homer; one could even say that the poem is a Homeric cento;[19] he also quotes Hesiod and, in the last line, the end of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* – the main three school authors of the time.[20] Although, then, he is not without culture, he also allows himself much licence and makes many prosodic mistakes, which we do not find in Quintus Smyrnaeus.[21] The author also quotes a number of rare and unusual words, which are found in Hesychius, and uses uncommon forms of verbs. It is typical of this culture which likes to show off its erudition, that Dorotheus also employs some philosophical terms.[22]

Can we say more about his spiritual background? The American papyrologist MacCoull has argued for a gnostic influence, since two epithets of God in the *Vision*, *autophyês* (12) and *panatiktos* (11), twice occur in the Nag Hammadi writings, the latter in the form *agennêtos*.[23] However, *autophyês* similarly occurs as an epithet of God in the well-known oracle of Klaros, which has now been found again in slightly expanded form in an inscription on the wall of Oenoanda (*SEG* 27.933); this epithet has a clear Stoic background. *Panatiktos* may be compared with *amêtôr*, 'without mother', as an epithet of God in the same inscription.[24] Moreover, its occurrence in Lactantius (*Div. Inst*. 1.7) shows that the oracle must have been well known outside Oenoanda. The vocabulary of the oracle, then, can hardly be used to demonstrate gnostic influence in the *Vision*.

Livrea goes even farther and suggests that Dorotheus is the author of a profound, gnostic allegory. For this interpretation he adduces four main arguments:[25]

(1) At the end of the vision Dorotheus receives a new outfit (328–35):

> From afar the men looked at me in astonishment, seeing how big I was and that I did not have simple clothing, but a cloak, when I was standing at the gate as before, was I wearing, made for me from two different sorts of linen (?). I stood with an *orarium* wrapped around my neck and round my legs I wore breeches rising on high. And I also wore a glittering girdle. As before I appeared standing at the gate.

This passage Livrea wants to interpret in the light of Proclus' statement that myths customarily take clothes as symbols of incorporeal lives.[26]

(2) He finds a similar initiation through assuming a new garment in the Orphic fragment no. 238 (Kern = Macr. *Sat*. 1.18.22).

(3) He compares the splendid robe of the son of the king in the *Hymn of the Pearl* of the *Acts of Thomas*, which symbolises immortality or the image of God, and which man regains when he is dressed with his heavenly double, his twin brother Jesus, with the soldier's cloak in the just quoted passage of the *Vision*. This cloak, according to Livrea, is the *eikôn*, the heavenly double of the Spirit, and the two kinds of linen are a representation of the *nous* and the *psychê*, united after christening.

(4) Another connection between the *Vision* and the *Hymn* Livrea sees in the name Andreas, which Dorotheus assumes before being baptised (226–7), and which recurs, so Livrea suggests, in the (Greek) words spoken in the *Hymn* (91–2): 'I belong to the most valiant {*andreiotatou*} servant, for whom they reared me before my father'.

Unfortunately, Livrea's interpretation is completely unconvincing, as a closer inspection of his arguments will show. As regards the final passage of the *Vision*, his interpretation finds no support in the text and fails to take into account the realistic background of this passage. Normally, soldiers had only a linen undergarment, the *camisia*, but the members of the *schola palatina* also possessed an overgarment of white linen, which gave them the name of *candidati*. Other details mentioned in the text, such as the breeches and the cravat, also fit a soldier's outfit but hardly Livrea's allegorical interpretation; not surprisingly, he fails to take them into account in his analysis and thus overlooks an important aspect of fourth-century Roman culture: the love of uniforms.[27] Livrea's Orphic fragment is not persuasive either, as it mentions the *nebris*, a piece of clothing which we know to have been actually worn by Dionysos' followers.[28]

As regards the *Hymn of the Pearl* and the *Acts of Thomas*, it is doubtful whether we can really call these works gnostic. In his introduction to the most recent edition of the English standard translation, Han Drijvers has stressed that they lack all typical gnostic traits and are marked by a soteriological character.[29] Finally, Livrea's interpretation of the name Andreas passes over other indications in the text. Dorotheus chooses his name, as courage failed him: immediately after he had received his new name, Jesus prayed to God for faith and courage (*andreian*: 229). At the end of the *Vision* (306–7) he also states that he used to be a coward but now feels himself to be a hero, who even wants to be sent out to foreign places. To conclude, Livrea's gnostic interpretation is built on sand and lacks a solid basis.[30]

It would of course be much more satisfactory if, after having declined Livrea's interpretation, we could offer a convincing, new view of the *Vision*. This is not the case. We do not even know the purpose of the *Vision*'s codex.

There are some indications that it has been used for a school exercise, but this has also been contested.[31] We may observe, though, that Dorotheus heavily stresses poetic inspiration. Right at the beginning, in lines 1–3, he states that God has put in his heart 'the desire for graceful song'. The theme recurs after his flogging, when he thanks Gabriel for 'putting graceful song into my heart' (173–4). Finally, he concludes his vision with the hope that he will 'sing about the deeds of the righteous and also of Christ the Lord, year after year ever more delightful for a singer' (342–3).

Yet, this emphasis on poetic inspiration does not help us reach a closer understanding of the author's poetic purpose. His poem is rather unusual in early-Christian literature, where hexametric poetry is not found that often: before Dorotheus we only have the *Oracula Sibyllina* VI–VIII and the poetry of Gregory of Nazianzus. What does this mean? And what is the precise theological background of the vision? A grim, cruel Christ, as appearing in this poem, is rather unique in early Christian theology; the closest parallel occurs in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (3, 5), a document whose tradition is so complicated that it cannot be dated easily.[32] Is it significant that visions of God in heaven are typical of the Jewish *Hekhalot*-literature and that the whipping by angels also occurs in the Babylonian Talmud (*Chagiga* 15a)? But then, whipping angels also occur both in the third-century *Visio Pauli* (2) and the much later *Martyrium Petri* (17) of Pseudo-Linus. Does the vision perhaps have a hidden meaning, in so far that Dorotheus has only penetrated half way into the Kingdom of God, in other words, only into His forecourt? Or does it have a connection with his forthcoming martyrdom? The *Vision of Dorotheus* still poses many problems![33]

NOTES

1 INVENTING THE AFTERLIFE

1 For a good survey see most recently L. I. Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence* (Seattle and London, 1998).

2 See my studies of this area: *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), which also lists earlier scholarship; 'Greek and Hellenistic Concepts of the Soul', in L. Sullivan (ed.), *Death, Afterlife, and the Soul* (New York and London, 1989), 198–204, and 'The Soul, Death and the Afterlife in Early and Classical Greece', in J. M. Bremer *et al*. (eds), *Hidden Futures* (Amsterdam, 1995), 91–106.

3 For a thorough survey of the various discussions of this phenomenon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries see T. Jahn, *Zum Wortfeld 'Seele-Geist' in der Sprache Homers* (Munich, 1987), 124–81; add Th. Gelzer *et al*., 'How to Express Emotions of the Soul and Operations of the Mind in a Language that has no Words for them' = *Proceedings of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture* 55 (1988).

4 See most recently M. Meier-Brügger, 'Griech. *thymos* und seine Sippe', *Mus. Helv*. 46 (1989), 243–6; C. P. Caswell, *A Study of* Thumos *in Early Greek Epic* (Leiden, 1990); S. D. Sullivan, 'Person and *Thymos* in the Poetry of Hesiod', *Emerita* 61 (1993), 15–40; H. Pelliccia, *Mind, Body, and Speech in Homer and Pindar* (Göttingen, 1995).

5 See the full study by A. Giacomelli, 'Aphrodite and After', *Phoenix* 34 (1980), 1–19, which I had overlooked in my *Early Greek Concept*.

6 S. D. Sullivan, 'The Psychic Term *Noos* in Homer and the Homeric Hymns', *SIFC* NS 7 (1989), 152–95.

7 A. Cheyns, 'Recherche sur l'emploi des synonymes *êtor*, *kêr* et *kradiê* dans l'Iliade et l'Odyssée', *Rev. Belge Philol. Hist*. 63 (1985), 15–73; S. D. Sullivan, 'The Psychic Term *êtor*: its Nature and Relation to Person in Homer and the Homeric Hymns', *Emerita* 64 (1996), 11–29.

8 This is rightly argued by Jahn, *Zum Wortfeld 'Seele-Geist'*, even if he overstates his case, cf. the review by S. R. van der Mije, *Mnemosyne* IV 44 (1991), 440–5.

9 In addition to my studies mentioned in note 2, see now also Jahn, *Zum Wortfeld 'Seele-Geist'*, 27–38; S. D. Sullivan, 'A Multi-faceted Term. *Psyche* in Homer, the Homeric Hymns and Hesiod', *SIFC* NS 6 (1988), 151–80 and *Psychological and Ethical Ideas: What Early Greeks Say* (Leiden, 1995), 76–122; R. Padel, *In and Out of the Mind. Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton, 1992: a completely different approach); J. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca* (Oxford, 1996), 307–20.

10 In an interesting review of my *Early Greek Concept*, L. Woodbury, *Collected Writings* (Atlanta, 1991), 514–19, rightly points out that I should not have suggested that the *psychê*'s mode of existence is 'non-physical'.

11 Bremmer, *Early Greek Concept*, 9–12.

12 See most recently J. Jouanna, 'Le souffle, la vie et le froid: remarques sur la famille de

psychô d'Homère à Hippocrate', *REG* 100 (1987), 203–24. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997), 151–2, connects the etymology with Near Eastern beliefs, but the Indo-European connection between the soul and words meaning 'blowing' or 'breathing' is well established, cf. D. Q. Adams, *A Dictionary of Tocharian B* (Amsterdam and Atlanta, 1999), 41–2; J. T. Katz, *CQ* 49 (1999), 318 note 18.

13 I. G. Kalogerakos, *Seele und Unsterblichkeit. Untersuchungen zur Vorsokratik bis Empedokles* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996).

14 J. Barnes, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (London, 1988²), 472–7; Eur. *Or*. 1163; Pl. *Crat*. 399de. The quotation is from Gold Leaf A 4 in Riedweg's numbering (Ch. II n. 6).

15 The reason for this development is still obscure. For some observations see Bremmer, 'The Soul, Death and the Afterlife', 93–4; B. Gladigow, '"Tiefe der Seele" und "inner space"' in J. Assmann (ed.), *Die Erfindung des inneren Menschen* (Gütersloh, 1993), 114–32; this volume, Ch. 2.3.

16 Hipponax fr. 39 West² = 48 Degani².

17 S. D. Sullivan, 'The Extended Use of *psyche* in the Greek Lyric Poets (excluding Pindar and Bacchylides)', *Parola del Passato* 44 (1989), 241–62.

18 S. D. Sullivan, 'The Wider Meaning of *Psyche* in Pindar and Bacchylides', *SIFC* NS 9 (1991), 163–83.

19 F. Solmsen, '*Phren, Kardia, Psyche* in Greek Tragedy', in D. E. Gerber (ed.), *Greek Poetry and Philosophy* (Chico, 1984), 265–74; R. Schlesier, 'Die Seele im Thiasos. Zu Euripides, *Bacchae* 75', in J. Holzhausen (ed.), *Psychê–Seele–Anima. Festschrift für Karin Alt* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 37–72.

20 Pl. *Apol*. 30b, cf. E. Ehnmark, 'Socrates and the Immortality of the Soul', *Eranos* 44 (1946), 105–22; F. Solmsen, 'Plato and the Concept of the Soul (*psyche*): some historical perspectives', *J. Hist. Ideas* 44 (1983), 355–67.

21 J. M. Rist, 'Plato Says we Have Tripartite Souls. If He Is Right, What Can we Do about it?', in M.-O. Goulet-Gazé *et al*. (eds), *Sophiês maiêtores. Chercheurs de sagesse: Hommage à Jean Pépin* (Paris, 1992), 103–24.

22 See most recently, with bibliographies, Ph. J. van der Eijk, 'Aristotle's Psycho-physiological Account of the Soul–Body Relationship', and H. von Staden, 'Body, Soul, and Nerves: Epicurus, Herophilus, Erasistratus, the Stoics, and Galen', in J. P. Wright and P. Potter (eds), *Psyche and Soma* (Oxford, 2000), 57–77 and 79–116, respectively.

23 For an excellent, very detailed analysis of *psychê* and cognate terms in both early Judaism and early Christianity, with full bibliographies, see A. Dihle *et al*., '*psychê*', in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* IX (Stuttgart, 1973), 604–57; add now G. Dautzenberg, 'Seele IV', *TRE* 30 (1999), 744–8.

24 H.-P. Hasenfratz, 'Seelenvorstellungen bei den Germanen und ihre Übernahme und Umformung durch die christliche Mission', *Zs. f. Rel. u. Geistesgesch.* 38 (1986), 19–31; B. la Farge, *'Leben' und 'Seele' in den altgermanischen Sprachen* (Heidelberg, 1991); C. Riviello, 'Seola nel Heliand', *Riv. Cult. Class. Mediov*. 41 (1999), 265–82.

25 For this section, see Bremmer, *Early Greek Concept*, 70–124.

26 This idea will long remain popular, see R. Verdière, 'Le concept de la sensibilité après la mort chez les anciens', *Latomus* 50 (1991), 56–63.

27 For their depiction on vases see now E. Peifer, *Eidola und andere dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in spätarchaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Bern, 1989).

28 Soph. F 879 Radt; add now the Derveni Papyrus Col. VI, cf. A. Henrichs, 'The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus', in *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Papirologia* II (Naples, 1984), 255–68 at 261–6.

29 Aesch. *Suppl.* 157; note also F 228 Radt; A. Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus', in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), 161–201 at 194f.

30 A. Dihle, 'Totenglaube und Seelenvorstellung im 7. Jahrhundert vor Christus', *JAC* Suppl. 9 (1982), 9–20.
31 Aesch. F 273a Radt (see also Radt on F 230); Eur. *Troad*. 623, fr. 655 Nauck[2]; Ar. *Frogs*, 1334, cf. Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus', 187–9.
32 For the Jews see Dihle *et al.*, *'psychē'*, 631.
33 For an extensive bibliography on the underworld see now M. Herfort-Koch, *Tod, Totenfürsorge und Jenseitsvorstellungen in der griechischen Antike* (Munich, 1992); add C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford, 1995), whose ideas I generally accept; C. Colpe *et al.*, 'Jenseits (Jenseitsvorstellungen)', *RAC* 17 (1996), 246–407 at 258–82 (by P. Habermehl); A. Henrichs, 'Hades', in S. Hornblower and A. S. Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1996[3]), 661–2; J. N. Bremmer, 'Hades', in *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (Tübingen, 1998), 51–3. West, *East Face of Helicon*, 152–67 notes many interesting parallels with the Near East, but the expression 'the house of Hades' is also perfectly Indo-European, cf. M. Janda, *Eleusis. Das indogermanische Erbe der Mysterien* (Innsbruck, 2000), 69–71 (Hittite, Indian and Irish parallels).
34 S. Woodford and J. Spier, *LIMC* VI. 1 (1992), s. v. Kerberos.
35 So Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death*, 60. On older representations Hades is below the earth, cf. W. Felten, *LIMC* VIII. 1 (1997), s. v. Nekuia, no. 1–3.
36 XXIII. 71–4. For the Styx see also A. Henrichs, 'Zur Perhorreszierung des Wassers der Styx bei Aischylos und Vergil', *ZPE* 78 (1989), 1–29.
37 For its spelling see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (Berlin, 1968), 1–9.
38 C. J. Ruijgh, *Scripta minora* I (Amsterdam, 1991), 575–6; R. S. P. Beekes, '*Hades* and *Elysion*', in J. Jasanoff (ed.), *Mír Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins* (Innsbruck, 1998), 17–28 at 17–19.
39 *Il.* VIII. 13, 478; Hes. *Theog*. 119 with M. L. West ad loc.; G. Cerri, 'Cosmologia dell'Ade in Omero, Esiodo e Parmenide', *Parola del Passato* 50 (1995), 437–67; D. M. Johnson, 'Hesiod's Descriptions of Tartarus (*Theogony* 721–819)', *Phoenix* 53 (1999), 8–28.
40 S.-F. Dalinger *et al.*, *LIMC* IV. 1 (1988), s. v. Hades.
41 W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 90f.
42 Semon. 1. 14; Pi. *P*. 5. 96, *N*. 10. 67, *I*. 6. 15.
43 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'To Die and Enter the House of Hades: Homer, Before and After', in J. Whaley (ed.), *Mirrors of Mortality* (London, 1981), 15–39 and 'A Trauma in Flux: Death in the Eighth Century and After', in R. Hägg (ed.), *The Greek Renaissance of the Eight Century B.C.* (Stockholm, 1988), 33–49. These ideas also underlie her *'Reading' Greek Death*.
44 Ph. Ariès, *L'Homme devant la mort* (Paris, 1977), = *The Hour of Our Death*, tr. H. Weaver (New York, 1981). For Ariès (1914–1984), see his autobiography *Un historien du dimanche* (Paris, 1980).
45 For various corrections, which do not affect the overall picture, see L. Stone, *The Past and the Present Revisited* (New York, 1987), 393–410; A. Borst, *Barbaren, Ketzer und Artisten* (Munich and Zurich, 1990), 567–98; R. Porter, 'The hour of Philippe Ariès', *Mortality* 4 (1999), 83–90.
46 C. Mainoldi, 'Sonno e morte in Grecia antica', in R. Raffaelli (ed.), *Rappresentazioni della morte* (Urbino, 1987), 9–46; B. L. Hijmans Jr. *et al.*, *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses VIII* (Groningen, 1985), 282; H. A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (Kilchberg and Zürich, 1993), 132–65; J. Bažant, *LIMC* VII. 1 (1994), s. v. Thanatos; G. Wöhrle, *Hypnos, der Allbezwinger* (Stuttgart, 1995), 24–35; E. Mintsi, 'Hypnos et Thanatos sur les lécythes attiques à fond blanc (deuxième moitié du Ve siècle av. J.-C.)', *Rev. Et. Anc*. 99 (1997), 47–61; V. Hunnink, 'Sleep and death (Lucan 9, 818)', *MD* 42 (1999), 211–13.

47 The long accepted etymology of W. Burkert, 'Elysion', *Glotta* 39 (1960–61), 208–13, which connects Elysion with *enelysion*, 'place struck by lightning', has now been refuted by Beekes, '*Hades* and *Elysion*', 19–23, who demonstrates its pre-Greek character.

48 For the attractive features of Elysion and these Islands see S. Mace, 'Utopian and Erotic Fusion in a New Elegy by Simonides (22 West^2)', *ZPE* 113 (1996), 233–47.

49 M. Gelinne, 'Les Champs Elysées et les Îles des Bienheureux chez Homère, Hésiode et Pindare', *Etudes Class*. 56 (1988), 225–40.

50 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *LIMC* III. 1 (1986), s. v. Charon and *'Reading' Greek Death*, 303–61; E. Mugione *et al*., *Parola del Passato* 50 (1995), 357–434 (a number of articles on Charon).

51 See most recently S. Stevens, 'Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice', *Phoenix* 45 (1991), 215–29; R. Schmitt, 'Eine kleine persische Münze als Charonsgeld', in *Palaeograeca et Mycenaea Antonino Bartoněk quinque et sexagenario oblata* (Brno, 1991), 149–62; R. Cantilena, 'Un obole per Caronte?', *Parola del Passato* 50 (1995), 165–77.

52 Heracles: V. Smalwood, *LIMC* V. 1 (1990), s. v. Herakles, nos. 2553–2675 (also with all literary sources). Theseus: H. Herter, *RE* Suppl. 13 (1973), 1173–83; J. Neils, *LIMC* VII. 1 (1994), s. v. Theseus, nos. 291–300.

53 Note also *Hom. Hymn Demeter*, 480–2; Pi. fr. 137 Maehler; Philetaerus F 17 K.-A; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1974), 79–94.

54 *Nostoi*, fr. 4 Bernabé; Hes. fr. 1 M.-W.; Pi. *O*. 1. 39, 54–5, 60–1; Eur. *Or*. 6–9; Nicolaus F 1 K.-A.; Diod. Sic. 4. 74. 2.

55 Graf, *Eleusis*, 98–103.

56 R. Lindner, *LIMC* IV. 1 (1988), s. v. Hades, no. 29, 44; Ar. *Plut*. 727, Soph. F 273, 283 Radt; Aristophon F 12 K.-A.; K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Stockholm, 1992), 49–55 (Plouton), 105–3 (Ploutos).

57 Ar. F 504 K.-A.; Pl. *Crat*. 403a, *Phaedo*, 80d.

58 Note that *makarios* was taken over in the Christian Church to mean the funeral feast, *makaria* in later Greek. At the same time, the expression was often used together with the word for 'eternal', *aiônia*. The two words gradually blended together and formed the name of a favourite Italian dish, macaroni, cf. H. and R. Kahane, *Graeca et romanica scripta selecta*, 3 vols (Amsterdam, 1979–86), I. 400–2.

59 Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus', 193–8 (Hades and Pluton), 198 (the dead and material wealth). For the terms used see M. MacDonald, *Terms for Happiness in Euripides* (Göttingen, 1978); J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (Oxford, 1994), 449 (*eudaimôn*).

60 The Orphic background does not exclude a political angle, as argued by P. Ceccarelli, 'L'Athènes de Périclès: un "pays de cocagne"?', *QUCC* 54 (1996), 109–51.

61 W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 357–68.

62 See also Eur. fr. 839. 8ff, 908b. e, 971 Nauck^2; P. Hansen, *Carmina epigraphica Graeca saeculi IV a. Chr. n.* (Berlin and New York, 1989), no. 535, 545, 558, 593; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 170–1; *I. Erythrae* 302; *SEG* 37. 198, 38. 440; 42. 1612 (the soul for Aion); 46. 2212 (the soul to the Islands of the Blessed); W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), no. 33 ('my soul has flown to the holy ones'); *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores: Nova Series* VI, ed. A. Ferrua (Vatican City, 1975), no. 15868 ('*aithêr* of Christ').

63 Soph. *Ajax* 832; *OC* 1556–78; Eur. *Alc*. 252–4, 361, 438–44; *Hec*. 1–2; *HF* 431–4, 611, 1101–4; Pherecrates F 112–3 K.-A.; Ar. *Lys*. 605–7; *Ran*. 136–58, 186–7; Nikophon *apud* Suda *ν* 406; F. Jouan, 'L'évocation des morts dans la tragédie grecque', *Rev. d'Hist. Rel*. 198 (1981), 403–21.

64 *Contra* I. Morris, 'Attitudes toward Death in Archaic Greece', *Class. Ant.* 8 (1989),

296–320, who overstates his case and insufficiently takes into account the whole range of evidence.

65 See the surveys in K. J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (Oxford, 1974), 261–8; K. Treu, 'Der Tod in der attischen Neuen Komödie', *JAC* 9 (1982), 21–9 (no mention of the afterlife in Menander); J. D. Mikalson, *Honor thy Gods* (Chapel Hill and London, 1991), 114–21; S. R. Slings, *Plato's Apology of Socrates* (Leiden, 1994), 216–39; add now the Derveni papyrus, Col. V.

66 For similar statements see Soph. *El*. 245; Eur. *Alc*. 392–5, *Tro*. 633 and 636, *Hel*. 1421, *Iph. Aul*. 1251.

67 Yet, for a convergence between tragedy and civic theology see R. Parker, 'Gods Cruel and Kind: Tragic and Civic Theology', and C. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Tragedy and Religion: Constructs and Readings', in C. Pelling (ed.), *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* (Oxford, 1997), 143–60, 161–86, respectively.

68 H.-G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* (Munich, 1979); W. Puchner, *Akkommodationsfragen: Einzelbeispiele zum paganen Hintergrund von Elementen der frühkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Sakraltradition und Volksfrömmigkeit* (Munich, 1997), 48f.

69 For a more recent study, M. Vervenne and J. Lust (eds), *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature* (Leuven, 1997).

70 G. Stemberger, 'Seele III', *TRE* 30 (1999), 740–4.

71 J. H. Becker, *Het begrip nefesj in het Oude Testament* (Diss. Amsterdam, 1942); H. Seebass, '*næpæš*', in *Theol. Wtb. z. Alten Testament* 5 (1986), 531–55.

72 See most recently J. N. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Netherworld in the Old Testament* (Rome, 1969); K. Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1986); M. S. Smith and M. Bloch-Smith, 'Death and Afterlife in Ugarit and Israel', *J. Am. Or. Soc*. 108 (1988), 277–84; L. Wächter, '*še'ôl*', in *Theol. Wtb. z. Alten Testament* 7 (1993), 901–10; N. van Uchelen, 'Death and the Afterlife in the Hebrew Bible of Ancient Israel', in J. M. Bremer *et al*. (eds), *Hidden Futures* (Amsterdam, 1994), 77–90; D. Faivre, 'Les représentations primitives du monde des morts chez les Hébreux', *Dial. d' Hist. Anc.* 21 (1995) 59–80; K. Hoheisel, 'Jenseits: B VIIIa', *RAC* 17 (1996), 332–48.

73 For a good survey of Israelite burial customs see R. Wenning and E. Zenger, 'Tod und Bestattung im biblischen Israel. Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze', in L. Hagemann and E. Pulsfort (eds), *"Ihr alle aber seid Brüder". Festschrift für A. Th. Khoury zum 60. Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1990), 285–303. For *lm*, 'underworld, grave', which seems to be mainly attested in later texts, see H. Niehr, 'Zur Semantik von nordwestsemitisch '*lm* als "Unterwelt" und "Grab,"' in B. Pongratz-Leisten *et al*. (eds), *Ana sadi Labnani lu allik . . . Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1997), 295–305.

74 For a good survey of the few references in the Old Testament to an afterlife and a discussion of recent views see R. E. Friedman and S. D. Overton, 'Death and Afterlife: the Biblical Silence', in A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner (eds), *Judaism in Late Antiquity IV: Life-After-Death, Resurrection and The World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (Leiden, 2000), 35–59.

75 T. F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology With Special Reference to the Apocalypses and Pseudepigraphs* (London, 1961), *passim*; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, tr. J. Bowden, 2 vols (Minneapolis, 1974), I. 262–3; C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos* (Tübingen, 1993); C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors IV: Orphica* (Atlanta, 1996).

76 See most recently G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* (Sheffield, 1985); J. A. Dearman, 'The Tophet in Jerusalem: Archaeology and Cultural Profile', *J. Northwest Semitic Lang*. 22 (1996), 59–71; G. Bohak, 'Classica et Rabbinica I: The Bull of Phalaris and the Tophet', *J. St. Jud.* 31 (2000), 203–16.

77 J. Jeremias, '*geenna*', in *Theol. Wtb. z. Neuen Testament* 1 (Stuttgart, 1933), 656–7; M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983), 108–10; R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead. Studies on the Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Leiden, 1998), 220.

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2 W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, MA, 1972); for his most recent views see Burkert, 'Pythagoreische Retraktationen: Von den Grenzen einer möglichen Edition', in Burkert *et al*. (eds), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike* (Göttingen, 1998), 303–19; note now also the new, substantial, study by L. Zhmud, *Wissenschaft, Philosophie und Religion im frühen Pythagoreismus* (Berlin, 1997).

3 But see E. Livrea, 'A New Pythagorean Fragment and Homer's Tears in Ennius', *CQ* 48 (1998), 559–61; D. Sedley, 'Pythagoras the Grammar Teacher and Didymus the Adulterer', *Hyperboreus* 4 (1998), 122–38. For new portraits see R. Smith, 'A New Portrait of Pythagoras', in R. Smith and K. Erim (eds), *Aphrodisias Papers 2 = J. of Roman Archaeology*, Suppl. 2 (Ann Arbor, 1991), 159–67; V. M. Strocka, 'Orpheus und Pythagoras in Sparta' and B. Freyer-Schauenberg, 'Pythagoras und die Musen', in H. Froning *et al*. (eds), *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon* (Mainz, 1992), 276–83 and 323–9, respectively.

4 For a description see E. Crisci, 'I piu antichi libri greci', *Scrittura e Civiltà* 23 (1999), 29–62 at 35–8. The text has been published in *ZPE* 47 (1982), after p. 300; add now the new readings by K. Tsantsanoglou, 'The First Columns of the Derveni Papyrus and their Religious Significance', in A. Laks and G. Most (eds), *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus* (Oxford, 1997), 93–128, whose new numbering of the columns I follow; note also R. Janko, 'The Derveni Papyrus (Diagoras of Melos, *Apopyrgizontes Logoi?*): A New Translation', *Class. Philol*. 2000.

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6 See now the most recent edition by C. Riedweg, 'Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen', in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart, 1998), 360–98 at 389–98, whose numbering I use; add the edition of B 2 by J.-C. Decourt, *Inscriptions de Thessalie* I (Athens, 1995), 128–9: no. 115; the fourth-century tablet from Thessalian Pherae (*SEG* 45. 646, see now P. Chrysostomou, *Hê Thessalikê thea En(n)odia hê Pheraia thea* [Athens, 1998], 208–20, with photo: fig. 32b), and the Lesbian text announced in *Arch. Reports* 1988–9, 93.

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8 For the most recent, well-informed surveys see R. Parker, 'Early Orphism', in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London and New York, 1995), 483–510; W. Burkert,

'Die neuen orphischen Texte: Fragmente, Varianten, "Sitz im Leben"', in Burkert, *Fragmentsammlungen*, 387–400; W. Burkert, *Da Omero ai Magi* (Venice, 1999), 59–86. For the later developments of Orphism see the collected studies of L. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine* (Aldershot, 1994).

9 M. Giangiulio, *Ricerche su Crotone arcaica* (Pisa, 1989), 3–50.

10 Iambl. *VP*. 56, cf. R. Spadea, 'Il tesoro di Hera', *Bolletino d'Arte* 79 (1994 [1996]) 1–34; idem, *Il tesoro di Hera* (Milan, 1996); idem, 'Santuari di Crotone', in J. de la Genière (ed.), *Héra. Images, espaces, cultes* (Naples, 1997), 235–59.

11 Dicaearchus, fr. 33 Wehrli^2; Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 44; Iustinus 20. 4. 1ff; Iambl. *VP*. 255; Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 115.

12 Aristoxenos, fr. 18 Wehrli^2; Dicaearchus, fr. 35 Wehrli^2. Five years later: the eleventh-century Arab historian Mubashshir, who draws chiefly on Porphyry, but does have additional details, cf. F. Rosenthal, *Greek Philosophy in the Arab World* (London, 1990), Ch. I, 53 (= *Orientalia* 6, 1937, 53), overlooked by Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 117 and Zhmud, *Wissenschaft*, 55. For Pythagoras in the Arabic tradition see F. Rosenthal, 'Fithaguras', in B. Lewis *et al*. (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* II (Leiden, 1965^2), 929f.

13 For Xenophanes' views of Pythagoras see C. Schäfer, *Xenophanes von Kolophon* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1996), 199–201.

14 For Pythagoras' view of the soul see most recently Zhmud, *Wissenschaft*, 117–28.

15 *I. Ephesos* 3901 = *SEG* 31. 951.

16 F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 87f.

17 On Pherecydes see most recently R. L. Fowler, 'The Authors Named Pherecydes', *Mnemosyne* IV 52 (1999), 1–15.

18 Cic. *Tusc*. 1. 16. 38 (= F 7 Schibli); Tatian, *Or.* 25 (= F 51a,b Schibli).

19 *Suda*, *s. v. Pherekydes* = A 2 DK = F 2 Schibli, *contra* H. S. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* (Oxford, 1990), 105–9.

20 For the fragment see C. Riedweg, '"Pythagoras hinterliess keine einzige Schrift" – ein Irrtum? Anmerkungen zu einer alten Streitfrage', *Mus. Helv.* 54 (1997), 65–92 at 87f.

21 Clem. Al. *Strom*. 3. 17, cf. C. Huffman, *Philolaus of Croton: Pythagorean and Presocratic* (Cambridge, 1993), 402–6.

22 Pl. *Crat*. 400c, *Grg*. 492e-493a, *Phaedo*, 80e-81e, *Phaedr*. 248cd; P. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, 3 vols (Paris, 1974–75), II. 394–414; J. Mansfeld, 'Heraclitus, Empedocles and Others in a Middle Platonist Cento in Philo of Alexandria', *VigChris* 39 (1985), 131–56 at 132, repr. in Mansfeld, *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism* (London, 1989), Ch. VII.

23 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 180–83; M. Hendry, 'Pythagoras' Previous Parents: Why Euphorbos?', *Mnemosyne* 48 (1994), 210f. Athens: J. Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999^2), 42.

24 For the availability of our source for Pythagoras' culinary preferences, the biography by Aristoxenus, in fourth-century Rome, see E. Gabba, 'Considerazioni sulla tradizione letteraria sulle origini della republica', *Entretiens Hardt* 13 (Geneva, 1967), 135–69 at 157–8; for early Roman interest in Pythagoras see also E. S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley, 1990), 158–62, 166–70; E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993), 30–1; M. Humm, 'Les origines du pythagorisme romain: problèmes historiques et philosophiques I, II', *Etudes Class.* 64 (1996), 339–53 and 65 (1997), 25–42; M. Mahé, 'Le pythagorisme d'Italie du sud vu par Tite-Live', *Ktema* 24 (1999, 149–57; A. S. Marino, *Numa e Pitagora* (Naples, 1999); S. Buchner, 'MAMARKOS nell' onomastica greco-italica e i nomi "italici" del padre di Pitagoa', *Annali Arch. St. Ant.* (Naples) NS 4 (1997 [2000]), 161–72.

25 Similarly Zhmud, *Wissenschaft*, 126f.

26 For these taboos see Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 191.

27 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 165; add Iambl. *VP.* 149.

28 For the uneven value of his text see J. Whittaker, *God Time Being* (Oslo, 1971), 19–21.
29 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 284; J. Mansfeld, 'Bad World and Demiurge: A "Gnostic" Motif from Parmenides and Empedocles to Lucretius and Philo', in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren (eds), *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden, 1981), 261–314 at 266–9, repr. in Mansfeld, *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy*, Ch. XIV.
30 Parmenides 28 A 1 DK = Sotion, fr. 27 Wehrli^2, cf. G. Cerri, 'Boezio, Parmenide ed Ameinias', in U. Criscuolo and R. Maisano (eds), *Synodia. Studia humanitatis Antonio Garzya septuagenario ab amicis atque discipulis dicata* (Naples, 1997), 137–51.
31 G. Wöhrle, 'War Parmenides ein schlechter Dichter? Oder: Zur Form der Wissensvermittlung in der frühgriechischen Philosophie', in W. Kullmann and J. Althoff (eds), *Vermittlung und Tradierung von Wissen in der griechischen Kultur* (Tübingen, 1993), 167–80.
32 For Empedocles' use of *daimôn* instead of *psychê* see J. Barnes, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (London and New York, 1988^2), 498–501.
33 Unlike Mansfeld (n. 34), A. Martin and O. Primavesi, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg* (Berlin and New York, 1999), 61–2 persuasively keep the transmitted *phobos* instead of Estienne's generally accepted conjecture *phonos*, which does not really fit Empedocles' system.
34 J. Mansfeld, *Heresiography in Context. Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy* (Leiden, 1992), 216–21, 293, defends the text of Diels-Kranz rather than accepting that of G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), 245. D. Sedley, *Lucretius and the Transformation of Greek Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1998), 8–10, 31 well argues that the lines belong to the proem of Empedocles' *On nature*.
35 Martin and Primavesi, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg*, 291–302 on fr. d 5–6.
36 For Empedocles, sacrifice and reincarnation see now G. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Critica del sacrificio cruento e antropologia in Grecia: Da Pitagora a Porfirio I: La tradizione pitagorica, Empedocle e l'Orfismo', in F. Vattioni (ed.), *Sangue e antropologia. Riti e culti* I (Rome, 1987), 107–55; C. Riedweg, 'Orphisches bei Empedokles', *Antike und Abendland* 41 (1995), 34–59 at 43–4, 47; add perhaps a(ii), 7 of the new papyrus, cf. Martin and Primavesi, *L'Empédocle de Strasbourg*, 194.
37 Pl. *Grg*. 493a. Note also *PCG* Adespota F 352 K.-A.: 'Italian' means Pythagoreans; similarly perhaps in Call. fr. 191. 62 Pfeiffer, cf. H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion and Miscellanea* (Oxford, 1990), 128–30.
38 Ion of Chios, B 2 DK = *FGrH* 392 F 25a, cf. Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 128–9; Riedweg, '"Pythagoras",' 88–9.
39 On the connections see also Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 125–33 and Graf, *Eleusis*, 92–3, whose expositions have to be adapted to the new discoveries.
40 M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), 108–10; Riedweg, 'Orphisches bei Empedokles'. Note that Burkert, 'Die neuen orphischen Texte', 390, concludes, without new arguments, that Orphism predated Parmenides.
41 West, *Orphic Poems*, 110 wrongly opts for Ionia, cf. Bremmer, 'Orpheus: From Guru to Gay', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, 13–30 at 24.
42 A. Henrichs, 'The Eumenides and Wineless Libations in the Derveni Papyrus', in *Atti XVII Congr. Int. Papirologia* II (Naples, 1984), 255–68; add Eur. *Cret*. fr. 472 Nauck^2 (a *mystês* of Zeus).
43 *SEG* 45. 762, 777, 782–3, cf. M. W. Dickie, 'The Dionysiac Mysteries in Pella', *ZPE* 109 (1995), 81–6; L. Rossi, 'Il testamento di Posidippo e le laminette auree di Pella', *ZPE* 112 (1996), 59–65; Riedweg, 'Initiation – Tod – Unterwelt', 391; I. Gavrilakit and Y. Tzifopoulos, 'An "Orphic–Dionysiac" Gold *Epistomion* from Sfakaki near Rethymno', *BCH* 122 (1998), 343–55.
44 C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin and New York, 1986), 82–4; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1987), 45–7.

45 Graf, 'Textes orphiques et ritual bacchique. A propos des lamelles de Pélinna', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, 87–102 at 98–9 and 'Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions', in Th. Carpenter and C. Faraone (eds), *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, 1993), 239–58 at 250.

46 W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA, 1992), 125–7; D. Obbink, 'Cosmology and Initiation vs. the Critique of Orphic Mysteries', in Laks and Most, *Studies*, 39–54 at 50.

47 C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos* (Munich, 1993), 47–8 (beginning: with many parallels), 52 (end); A. Bernabé, 'La fórmula órfica "Cerrad las puertas, profanos". Del profano religioso al profano en la materia', *'Ilu* 1 (1996), 13–37.

48 J. Mansfeld, *Studies in the Historiography of Greek Philosophy* (Assen and Maastricht, 1990), 46, 49; idem, 'Bad World and Demiurge', 267 wrongly claims that this testimony (T 252 Kern), was overlooked by O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922).

49 Ar. *Ran*. 943, fr. 506 KA; Plat. *Ap*. 26d; Mansfeld, *ibid*, 305.

50 As is concluded by R. Janko, 'Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory', *CQ* 34 (1984), 89–100.

51 For the Orphic and Pythagorean lifestyles see also J. N. Bremmer, 'Rationalization and Disenchantment in Ancient Greece: Max Weber among the Pythagoreans and Orphics?', in R. Buxton (ed.), *From Myth to Logos? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought* (Oxford, 1999), 71–83.

52 *Contra* W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985), 301, cf. Sfameni Gasparro, 'Critica del sacrificio cruento'.

53 C. Gasparri, *LIMC* III. 1 (1986), s. v. Dionysos, no. 537f.

54 For a convenient survey of the archeological evidence see A. Bottini, *Archeologia della salvezza* (Milan, 1992).

55 For Skyles' Bacchic activities see most recently A. Henrichs, 'Der rasende Gott: Zur Psychologie des Dionysos und des Dionysischen in Mythos und Literatur', *Antike und Abendland* 40 (1994), 31–58 at 47–51.

56 A. Toynbee, *A Study of History* I (London, 1935^{2}), 99 and V (London, 1939), 84. Toynbee was clearly interested in the Orphics, as is also shown by his signature in my own copy of I. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley, 1941).

57 As was pointed out by Graf, 'Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology', 255f.

58 P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic* (Oxford, 1995), 162, wrongly takes them to be Pythagorean.

59 *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 3. 16. 1, cf. J. N. Bremmer, 'Why Did Early Christianity Attract Upper-Class Women?', in A. A. R. Bastiaensen *et al*. (eds), *Fructus centesimus. Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), 37–47.

60 J. R. Watmough, *Orphism* (Cambridge, 1934); E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley, 1951), 135–78.

61 I accept the longer version which, admittedly, is not totally free from suspicions, but see for detailed discussions Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 127–8; Graf, *Eleusis*, 92–3. Zhmud, *Wissenschaft*, 119 prefers the shorter version.

62 For the cult of Dionysos in Olbia see also E. Dettori, 'Testi "orfici" dalla Magna Grecia al Mar Nero', *Parola del Passato* 51 (1996), 292–310 at 301–4.

63 Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, F 31, 60, 65, 80, 81 etc., cf. J. Hordern, 'Notes on the Orphic Papyrus from Gurôb', *ZPE* 129 (2000), 131–40 at 138.

64 For more evidence see Riedweg, 'Orphisches bei Empedokles', 37 n. 27.

65 For Bacchic mysteries in classical times see most recently H. S. Versnel, *Ter Unus* (Leiden, 1990), 150–5; W. Burkert, 'Bacchic *Teletai* in the Hellenistic Age', in Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, 259–75; F. Graf, 'I culti misterici', in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci* II. 1 (Turin, 1996), 309–43 at 324–8.

66 See especially the following works by J. Mansfeld: *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism*; *Studies in the Historiography of Greek Philosophy*; *Heresiography in Context*.
67 I follow the punctuation argued by F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 21.
68 As do more recently, e. g., G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979), 12 n. 18; A. Henrichs, 'Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus: Zur Ambivalenz der chthonischen Mächte im attischen Drama', in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991), 161–201 at 190f. Its authenticity is accepted by Ch. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus* (Cambridge, 1979), 262 (with some qualms); M. Conche, *Héraclite. Fragments* (Paris, 1986), 167–70; T. Robinson, *Heraclitus. Fragments* (Toronto, 1987), 85–6; Graf, *Magic*, 21.
69 E. J. Bickerman, *Religions and Politics in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Como, 1985), 619–41; A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi* (Leiden, 1997), 387–403 (a well balanced analysis of the early *magoi*).
70 Bremmer, 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', *ZPE* 126 (1999), 1–12; for the development in antiquity see now the splendid synthesis by Graf, *Magic.*
71 F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 285–91.
72 For detailed discussions see now A. Pardini, 'L'*Ornitogonia* (Ar. *Av*. 693 sgg.), tra serio e faceto: premessa letteraria al suo studio storico-religioso', in A. Masaracchia (ed.), *Orfeo e l'Orfismo* (Rome, 1993), 53–65; N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes, Birds* (Oxford, 1995), 437–44; A. Bernabé, 'Una cosmogonía cómica: Aristófanes, *Aves* 685ss. ', in J. A. López Férez (ed.), *De Homero a Libanio. Estudios actuales sobre textos griegos* II (Madrid, 1995), 195–211.
73 Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 87.
74 D. Obbink, 'A Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus in Philodemus' *On Piety*', *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24 (1994), 111–35.
75 S. Morenz, *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Cologne, 1975), 462–89; Graf, *Eleusis*, 125–6; R. Merkelbach, 'Die goldenen Totenpässe: ägyptisch, orphisch, bakchisch', *ZPE* 128 (1999), 1–13. For a possible echo of the egg in Christian hagiography see P. Boulhol, *Analecta Bollandiana* 112 (1994), 282–4.
76 As is well observed by Mansfeld, 'Bad World and Demiurge', 267, 291.
77 M. L. West, '*Ab ovo*. Orpheus, Sanchuniathon, and the Origins of the Ionian World Model', *CQ* 44 (1994), 289–307; W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites (Second and Third Series)*, ed. J. Day (Sheffield, 1995), 104–7.
78 G. Casadio, 'Adversaria Orphica et Orientalia', *SMSR* 52 (1986), 291–322, who also refutes West's Persian parallels; similarly but independently, S. Ribichini, 'Traditions phéniciennes chez Philon de Byblos: une vie éternelle pour des dieux mortels', in C. Kappler (ed.), *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà* (Paris, 1987), 101–16; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 277–8; G. Bowersock, *Fiction as History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1994), 43f.
79 R. Edmonds, 'Tearing Apart the Zagreus Myth: A Few Disparaging Remarks On Orphism and Original Sin', *Class. Ant*. 18 (1999), 35–73 at 40 n. 14 makes too light of the connection between Titans and anthropogony in OF. 224, which he unpersuasively tries to explain away as a reference to the Titanomachy. For a balanced survey of the evidence see now A. Bernabé, 'Nacimientos y muertes de Dioniso en los mitos órficos', in C. Sánchez Fernández and P. Cabrera Bonet (eds), *En los límites de Dioniso* (Murcia, 1998), 29–39.
80 H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (Oxford, 1990), 80–105.
81 Graf, *Eleusis*, 74f.
82 For the possible 'performative' character of the aorist tense of these verbs see C. Faraone, *Class. Phil*. 90 (1995), 13 n. 42.
83 See the studies of Moret, Johnston and McNiven, and Schmidt (n. 7).

84 G. Caduff, *Antike Sintflutsagen* (Göttingen, 1986); J. N. Bremmer, 'Near Eastern and Native Traditions in Apollodorus' Account of the Flood', in F. García Martínez and G. Luttikhuizen (eds), *Interpretations of the Flood* (Leiden, 1998), 39–55.
85 Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, 19f.
86 As is stressed by C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death* (Oxford, 1995), 195.
87 Interest in the afterlife was also reflected in Orphic literature, since a fourth-century author, Epigenes, mentions an Orphic poem on the *Descent to Hades.* For a Hellenistic Orphic *katabasis* see Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy*, 333–42; N. Horsfall, *ZPE* 96 (1993), 17–18; U. Molyviati-Toptsis, 'Vergil's Elysium and the Orphic–Pythagorean Ideas of After-life', *Mnemosyne* IV 47 (1994), 33–46; M. Marinčic, 'Der 'orphische' Bologna-Papyrus (Pap. Bon. 4), die Unterweltsbeschreibung im *Culex* und die lukrezische Allegorie des Hades', *ZPE* 122 (1998), 55–9.
88 On Plato and Orphism see A. Masaracchia, 'Orfeo e gli "Orfici" in Platone', in Masaracchia, *Orfeo*, 173–203, repr. in his *Riflessioni sull'antico* (Pisa and Rome, 1998), 373–96.
89 The theme of the mud proved to be immensely popular see M. Aubineau, 'Le thème du "Bourbier" dans la littérature grecque profane et chrétienne', *Rev. Sc. Rel.* 47 (1959), 185–214; Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même* II, 502–19.
90 Graf, *Eleusis*, 90–2; W. Burkert, 'Orpheus, Dionysos und die Euneiden in Athen', in A. Bierl and P. von Möllendorff (eds), *Orchestra . . . Festschrift Hellmut Flashar* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1994), 44–9 (*Hypsipyle*).
91 U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II (Berlin, 1932), 194: 'eine orphische Seelenlehre soll erst einer nachweisen.'
92 The subject has often been discussed. See most recently, with rich bibliographies, G. Casadio, 'La metempsicosi tra Orfeo e Pitagora', in Borgeaud, *Orphisme*, 119–55.
93 L. Zhmud', 'Orphism and Graffiti from Olbia', *Hermes* 120 (1992), 159–68; Vinogradov and Dubois (n. 5).
94 Pl. *Crat*. 400c and *Phaedo*, 62b, 67d, 81e, 92a; Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même* II, 345–80; G. Rehrenbock, 'Die orphische Seelenlehre in Platons Kratylos', *Wiener Stud.* 88 (1975), 17–31; A. Bernabé, 'Una etimología Platónica: *Sôma – Sêma*', *Philologus* 139 (1995), 204–37.
95 See also the brilliant paper by Burkert, 'Craft Versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans', in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (eds), *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* 3 (London, 1982), 1–22, 183–9.
96 Although Pythagoras may once have written, as is now persuasively argued by Riedweg, '"Pythagoras"'; Zhmud, *Wissenschaft*, 89f. Did Pythagoras perhaps 'publish' in the first part of his career, but stuck to oral teaching after his political downfall?
97 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, index s. v. Apollo; M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart, 1990), 26–50; M. di Marco, 'Dioniso ed Orfeo nelle *Bassaridi* di Eschilo', in Masaracchia, *Orfeo*, 101–53; M. Giangiulio, 'Sapienza pitagorica e religiosità apollinea. Tra cultura della città e orizzonti panellenici', *AION*, sez. filol.-lett., 16 (1994), 9–27.
98 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 133; Riedweg, 'Orphisches bei Empedokles'.
99 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 133; Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy*, 301; Schibli, *Pherekydes*, 108; Burkert, in *Entretiens Hardt* 45 (1999), 206.
100 W. Halbfass, 'Early Indian References to the Greeks and the First Western References to Buddhism', in H. Bechert (ed.), *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1991–92), I. 197–208. S. West, 'Sophocles' *Antigone* and Herodotus Book Three', in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited* (Oxford, 1999), 109–36 at 113 notes the almost complete absence of any reference to India in Pindar, tragedy, and Aristophanes.
101 Buddha: A. T. Embree, *Sources of Indian Tradition* I (New York, 1988[2]), 44–5; Bechert, *The Dating of the Historical Buddha*. Sacrifice: H. Bodewitz, 'The Hindu Doctrine of Transmigration. Its Origin and Background', *Indologica Taurinensia* 23–24 (1997–98), 583–605.

102 For the intriguing problem of the relation between Greek and Celtic ideas of reincarnation see H. Birkhan, *Kelten* (Vienna, 1997), 913–15.
103 Iustinus 20. 4. 14; Iambl. *VP*. 254.
104 Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death*, 108–297; V. Casadio, *Museum Criticum* 24 (1994), 49f.
105 E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1989), 104–38.
106 S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice* (Cambridge, 1991), 69–166; C. Segal, *Singers, Heroes, and Gods in the Odyssey* (Ithaca and London, 1994), 85–109; E. J. Bakker, 'Le Kleos épique et la poétique d'Homère', *Cah. Et Anc*. 35 (1999), 17–26.
107 M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen, 1972[5]), 306f, cf. H. Kippenberg, *Die vorderasiatischen Erlösungsreligionen in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der antiken Stadtherrschaft* (Stuttgart, 1991).
108 This chapter has also profited from lectures in Exeter; Rhodes College, Memphis; Budapest; Jerusalem and Munich (1995); Harvard (1999) and Oxford and Reading (2000). For discussions and revisions of my English I would like to thank Ken Dowden, Bob Fowler and Richard Janko.

3 TRAVELLING SOULS? GREEK SHAMANISM RECONSIDERED

1 J. N. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), 24–53, see, for example, F. Graf, *Gnomon* 57 (1985), 586; R. Hutton, *The Shamans of Siberia* (Glastonbury, 1993); R. Parker, 'Early Orphism', in A. Powell, *The Greek World* (London, 1995), 483–510 at 502.
2 C. Ginzburg, *Storia notturna* (Turin, 1989) = *Ecstasies. Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, tr. R. Rosenthal (Harmondsworth, 1991), 218 n. 4, 219 n. 11; D. Margreth, *Skythische Schamanen? Die Nachrichten über Enarees-Anarieis bei Herodot und Hippokrates* (Diss. Zurich, 1993); P. Kingsley, 'Greeks, Shamans and Magi', *Studia Iranica* 23 (1994), 187–98 at 190; G. Baudy, 'Abaris', in *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (Tübingen, 1996), 5–6; C. Selser, 'Aristeas', *ibid*, 1094.
3 C. Ginzburg, 'Gli Europei scoprono (o riscropono), gli sciamani', in F. Graf (ed.), *Klassische Antike und neue Wege der Kulturwissenschaften. Symposium Karl Meuli* (Basel, 1992), 111–28 at 121 (English translation: 'On the European (Re)discovery of Shamans', *Elementa* 1, 1993, 23–39; abridged version in *London Review of Books* 15, 1993, no. 2, 9–11). Ginzburg is clearly misled by B. Laufer, 'Origin of the Word Shaman', *Am. Anthr.* 19 (1917), 361–71 at 361 (whom he quotes on p. 122).
4 For its most recent discussion see K. H. Menges, *Materialien zum Schamanismus der Ewenki-Tungusen an der mittleren und unteren Tunguska* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 121.
5 For Ides see F. Treichel, 'Ides', in O. Klose and E. Rudolph (eds), *Schleswig-Holsteinisches Biographisches Lexikon* IV (Neumünster, 1976), 115–17.
6 *Driejaarige reize naar China te lande gedaan door den Moskovischen Afgezant, E. Ysbrants Ides, van Moskou af, over Groot Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Siberien, Daour, Groot Tartaryen tot in China . . .* (Amsterdam, 1704, repr. 1710), 34f. It was translated into English in 1706 (London), into German in 1707 (Frankfurt), and into Czech in 1800 (Prague), cf. P. A. Tiele, *Nederlandsche bibliografie van land- en volkenkunde* (Amsterdam, 1884, repr. 1966), 118.
7 A. Brand, *Beschreibung der Chinesischen Reise welche vermittelst einer Zaaris. Besandschaft durch dero Ambassadeur, Herrn Isbrand . . .* (Hamburg, 1698), 80–1: 'Wo fünf oder sechs Tungusen bey einander wohnen . . . halten sie einen Schaman, welcher auf ihre Art einen Pfaffen oder Zauberer bedeutet'. There is an excellent survey of the various reports of this journey and the subsequent editions of Brand's work by M. I. Kazanin (ed.), *Izbrant Ides i Adam Brant. Zapiski o russkom posol'stve v Kitaj (1692–1695)*, (Moscow, 1967), 365–77 (add the Spanish translation). For Brand see J. Moller,

Cimbria literata I (Copenhagen, 1744), s. v.; C. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon . . .* (Leipzig, 1750; repr. Hildesheim, 1960), 1330f.

8 M. Skrzypek, 'The French Enlightenment on Shamanism in Siberia and the Urals', *Euhemer* 28. 3 (1984), 85–102; G. Flaherty, *Shamanism and the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1992).

9 E. Kämpfer, *Amoenitatum Exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum fasciculi V* (Lemgo, 1712), 647, cf. J. P. Dolan, 'A Note on the Use of Cannabis Sativa in the 17th Century', *J. South Carolina Medical Ass.* 67 (1971), 424–7. On Kämpfer see most recently H. Hüls and H. Hoppe (eds), *Engelbert Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag* (Lemgo, 1982); D. Haberland (ed.), *Engelbert Kaempfer: Werk und Wirkung* (Stuttgart, 1993); idem, *Englbert Kaempfer 1651–1716: a biography* (London, 1996).

10 J. Potocki, *Histoire primitive des Peuples de la Russie* (St. Petersburg, 1802), 128; C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* I (Königsberg, 1829), 13–14, n. h. Ginzburg, 'Gli Europei', 126 also compares the famous German ancient historian Bartold Niebuhr (1776–1831), *Kleine historische und philologische Schriften* (Berlin, 1828; repr. Osnabrück, 1969), 361f. However, Niebuhr does not mention shamans but only says of Herodotus' well-known passages: 'alles ist sibirisch' (362, i. e. Mongolian).

11 E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1898[2]), II. 24f; H. Diels, *Parmenides* (Berlin, 1897), 14–15; *Neue Jahrbücher* 49 (1922), 239–40; *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie* (Hildesheim, 1969), 18–9 (1897[1]: rejection).

12 *Contra* Jung, in K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols (Basel, 1975), II. 1200 n. 1, who suggests Diels' *Parmenides*, which Meuli (*Gesammelte Schriften* II, 858–9), admittedly, cites in his 'Scythica' (below). For Meuli in Munich, see his *Kleine Schriften* II, 1158–60, 1172 (Rohde's *Psyche*); A. Henrichs, 'Gott, Mensch, Tier: Antike Daseinsstruktur und religiöses Verhalten im Denken Karl Meulis', in Graf, *Klassische Antike*, 129–67 at 159f.

13 For a biography of Meuli see F. Jung, in Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 1153–1209; for illuminating studies of Meuli's work, Graf, *Klassische Antike*.

14 K. Meuli, *Odyssee und Argonauten* (Diss. Basel, 1921) = (slightly abbreviated), *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 593–676.

15 K. Meuli, 'Scythica', *Hermes* 70 (1935), 121–76 = *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 817–79, cf. Jung, in Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 1199–1202.

16 Ginzburg, 'Gli Europei', 127, wrongly suggests that Meuli overlooked Niebuhr, cf. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 818 n. 2.

17 See the important discussion by E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles* (Princeton, 1991), 15–19. Barber's etymological discussion of *cannabis* (36–8), wrongly takes into account Sanskrit *bangá*, which refers to some kind of mushroom, cf. E. Korencky, *Iranische Lehnwörter in den obugrischen Sprachen* (Budapest, 1972), 64–5; F. Crevatin, 'Per incertam lunam sub luce maligna', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Problemi di sostrato nelle lingue indoeuropee* (Pisa, 1983), 109–15.

18 W. Radloff, *Aus Siberien*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1884), II. 52–5.

19 Å. Hultkrantz, 'The Drum in Shamanism. Some reflections', in T. Ahlbäck and J. Bergman (eds), *The Saami Shaman Drum* (Åbo and Stockholm, 1991), 9–27.

20 *Contra* Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 822, cf. M. Eliade, *Shamanism* (London, 1964), 15 (Votyak, Ostyak); L. Delaby, *Chamanes Toungouses* (Paris, 1977), 33 (Goldi); note also the objections of K. Dowden, 'Deux notes sur les Scythes et les Arimaspes', *REG* 92 (1980), 486–92 at 486f.

21 Cf. the report of the excavator: S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1970), 35, 62, 284f.

22 As is rightly observed by G. Ränk, 'Skythisches Räucherwerk. Zur Frühgeschichte des Hanfnarkotikums', in E. Ennen and G. Wiegelmann (eds), *Festschrift Matthias Zender* I (Bonn, 1972), 490–6; see also Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 208; A. Corcella and S. Medaglia, *Erodoto, Le Storie* IV (Turin, 1993), 292–3, Fig. 59 (sticks and censer); illustrations, in *Het Rijk der Scythen* (Zwolle, 1993), 96 (pouch), 98 (censer).

23 For the origin of its modern name see M. de Leeuw, *ZPE* 131 (2000), 28 n. 1.
24 For F 245 see H. Lloyd-Jones, *SIFC* 87 (1994), 135f.
25 J. Rasch, *Sophocles quid debeat Herodoto in rebus ad fabulas exornandas adhibitis* (Leipzig, 1913); see most recently M. Finkelberg, 'Sophocles *Tr.* 634–639 and Herodotus', *Mnemosyne* 48 (1995), 146–52; Bremmer, 'Why did Medea kill her Brother Apsyrtus?', in J. Clauss and S. I. Johnston (eds), *Medea* (Princeton, 1997), 83–100 at 97–9; S. West, 'Sophocles' *Antigone* and Herodotus Book Three', in J. Griffin (ed.), *Sophocles Revisited* (Oxford, 1999), 109–36.
26 The use of hemp for clothing was widespread in Roman times, see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* (Paris, 1963), 142–6; add *SEG* 43. 812.
27 About this passage and the use of hemp in antiquity I am also indebted to letters from E. Hall (17 12 1986), Bernard Knox (25 11 1986), Hugh Lloyd-Jones (4 12 1986), Martin Stol (17 9 1986), and Pierre Villard (3 11 1986; 10 4 1987).
28 Posidonius *FGrH* 87 F 104 (Strabo 7. 3. 3); Pomp. Mela 2. 21 (from Herodotus?), cf. M. Eliade, *Zalmoxis, the Vanishing God* (Chicago, 1972), 42.
29 I. Vossius, *Observationes ad Pomponium Melam de situ orbis* (The Hague, 1658), 124f. One may wonder whether Vossius thought this to be positive, since he observed that Descartes had died after *hausisse magnam tabaci copiam diluti*, cf. D. ter Horst, *Isaac Vossius en Salmasius* (The Hague, 1938), 63.
30 T. Brunner, 'Marijuana in Ancient Greece and Rome? The Literary Evidence', *Bull. Hist. Med.* 47 (1973), 344–53; J. M. van Winter, 'The Use of Cannabis in Two Cookery Books of the Fifteenth Century', in A. Fenton and T. M. Owen (eds), *Food in Perspective* (Edinburgh, 1981), 401–7. For completeness' sake I also mention C. P. Behn, 'The Use of Opium in the Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean', *Listy filologické* 109 (1986), 193–7.
31 B. Lewis, *The Assassins* (New York, 1967), 11–12; F. Rosenthal, *The Herb. Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden, 1971); L. Hellmuth, *Die Assassinenlegende in der österreichischen Geschichtsdichtung des Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1988).
32 Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 819f.
33 J. F. Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains, comparEes aux moeurs des premièrs temps*, 2 vols (Paris, 1724), I. 372 (Orpheus), II. 126–42 (tobacco), 372–3 (Scythians) = *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times by Father Joseph Lafitau*, tr. W. N. Fenton and E. L. Moore, 2 vols (Toronto, 1974–77), I. 237 (Orpheus), II. 79–88 (tobacco), 208 (Scythians). For Lafitau, see Fenton and Moore, *Customs*, xxix–cxix; A. Saggioro, 'Lafitau e lo spettacolo dell' "altro". Considerazioni iniziali in margine a un comparativista *ante litteram*', *SMSR* 63 (1997), 191–208.
34 Margreth, *Skythische Schamanen?*, collects and discusses the evidence and secondary literature, but is insufficiently critical.
35 For the Philistine cult of Astarte see E. Noort, *Die Seevölker in Palästina* (Kampen, 1994), 169, 173.
36 For the date of this destruction (between 627/6 and 616 BC), see A. Ivantchik, 'The Scythian "Rule over Asia": the Classical Tradition and the Historical Reality', in G. R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *Ancient Greeks East and West* (Leiden, 1999), 497–520 at 511–6.
37 Hdt. 4. 67. For some interesting observations on the seers' technique see G. Dumézil, *Romans de Scythie et d'alentour* (Paris, 1978), 212–18.
38 The name, E(A)nare(i)es, may indeed mean 'the un-manly', but there is no evidence in the *Rigveda*, the *Avesta*, or Homer for the combination of *a*(*n*)-, 'not', and *n*(*a*)*r*-/*andr*-, 'man', although R. S. P. Beekes (letter 19 1 1995), notes that the change *e*-/*a*- can be compared with Ossetic *ae* from **a*; see also Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 828.
39 W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), 191.
40 G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979), 27–8; A. Ballabriga, 'Les eunuques scythes et leurs femmes', *Metis* 1 (1986), 121–38.

41 J. Reineggs, *Allgemeine historisch-topographische Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, ed. F. E. Schröder, 2 vols (Gotha and St. Petersburg, 1796–7), I. 266–70 = *A General, Historical, and Topographical Description of Mount Caucasus*, tr. Ch. Wilkinson, 2 vols (London, 1807), I. 298f.

42 E. Lieber, 'The Hippocratic 'Airs, Waters, Places' on cross-dressing eunuchs: "natural" yet also "divine"', in R. Wittern and P. Pellegrin (eds), *Hippokratische Medizin und antike Philosophie* (Hildesheim, 1996), 451–76.

43 Potocki, *Histoire primitive*, 175; J. Potocki, *Voyage dans les steps d'Astrakhan et du Caucase: histoire primitive du peuples qui ont habité anciennement ces contrées*, ed. J. von Klaproth, 2 vols (Paris, 1829), I. 211–12 = Potocki, *Voyages au Caucase et en Chine*, intr. D. Beauvois (Paris, 1980), 145–6; J. von Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien*, 2 vols (Halle and Berlin, 1812–14), I. 283–6 ~ *Travels in the Caucasus and Georgia*, tr. F. Shoberl (London, 1814), 160f.

44 Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 826; similarly, Eliade, *Shamanism*, 258; for a possible exception see V. N. Basilov, 'Vestiges of Transvestism in Central-Asian Shamanism', in V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál (eds), *Shamanism in Siberia* (Budapest, 1978), 281–9; in general, G. Bleibtreu-Ehrenberg, *Der Weibmann. Kultischer Geschlechtswechsel im Schamanismus* (Frankfurt, 1984).

45 Similarly, Dowden, 'Deux notes', 488–90.

46 On the Arimaspi see now X. Gorbounova, *LIMC* VIII. 1 (1997), s. v. Arimaspoi; add A. Tempesta, *Le raffigurazioni mitologiche sulla ceramica greco-orientale arcaica* (Rome, 1998), 119; E. Pirart, 'Le nom des Arimaspes', *Bol. Ass. Española Orient*. 34 (1998), 239–60 (unpersuasive etymology).

47 Following A. Alföldi, *Gnomon* 9 (1933), 567f.

48 A. Pasquier, 'Le griffon dans l'orfèvrerie Gréco-Scythe', *CRAI* 1975, 454–67; L. Galanina, *Skythika* (Munich, 1987).

49 M. Peissel, *The Ants' Gold: The Discovery of the Greek El Dorado in the Himalayas* (London, 1984), 144–9, overlooked by K. Karttunen, *India in Early Greek Literature* (Helsinki, 1989), 171–80.

50 For Aristotle see W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 143 n. 127.

51 Her. Pont. fr. 51c Wehrli^{2} (fly: where the source of the passage should be A. Rehm not P. Corssen); note also the parody by Luc. *Philops*. 13. This invalidates the etymology proposed by K. Dowden, 'Apollon et l'esprit dans la machine', *REG* 92 (1979), 293–318 at 308. Abaris and Anacharsis: A. Dyroff, 'Abaris', *Philologus* 59 (1900), 610–14; J. F. Kindstrand, *Anacharsis* (Uppsala, 1981), 18–20 (unconvincing).

52 *Contra* Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 860, cf. Rohde, *Psyche* II, 91.

53 As was observed by Dowden, 'Apollon', 293, a study which I had overlooked in my *Soul*.

54 Ph. Gignoux, 'Les voyages chamaniques dans le monde iranien', *Acta Iranica* 21 (1981), 244–65; idem, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdir* (Paris, 1991). *Contra*: S. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran* (London, 1994), 49–51.

55 Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 865.

56 M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich, 1967^{3}), 617f.

57 Cf. the brilliant study by W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979), 78–98, 176–87. The idea had already occurred to Meuli: *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 870f.

58 Argonauts: Cf. F. Graf, 'Orpheus: A Poet among Men', in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1988^{2}), 80–106 at 95–9. Calydonian Hunt: Bremmer, 'La plasticité du mythe: Méléagre dans la poésie homérique', in C. Calame (ed.), *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique* (Geneva, 1988), 37–56. Trojan War: Bremmer, 'Heroes, Rituals and the Trojan War', *Studi Stor.-Rel*. 2 (1978), 5–38.

59 Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 697 (1940[1]), 103[1] (1950[1]). Rudbeck: see his *Atlantica*, 4 vols (Uppsala, 1679–1702), III, 434; in general, P. Vidal-Naquet, *La démocratie grecque vue d'ailleurs* (Paris, 1990), 152–4 (with rich bibliography); G. Eriksson, *The Atlantic Vision: Olaus Rudbeck and Baroque Science* (Canton, MA, 1994).

60 G. Mangani, 'Sul metodo di Eric Dodds e sulla nozione di "irrazionale"', *Quaderni di Storia* no. 11 (1980), 173–205; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Blood for the Ghosts* (London, 1982), 287–94; R. B. Todd, 'E. R. Dodds: a Bibliography of his Publications', *Quaderni di Storia* 48 (1998), 175–94. For my analysis I am also indebted to two papers of my student Hans-Peter Ros: 'Dodds en het irrationele' and 'Het vermeende Griekse sjamanisme volgens Dodds, Bremmer en Ginzburg'.

61 H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy, Hellenistic Literature, Greek Religion, and Miscellanea* (Oxford, 1990), 303.

62 For this interest see also Todd, 'E. R. Dodds: a Bibliography', 191f.

63 See Dodds' autobiography *Missing Persons* (Oxford, 1977), 180f. Murray: D. Wilson, *Gilbert Murray OM 1866–1957* (Oxford, 1987), 269–82.

64 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 162–5; Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 207–25.

65 Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Comedy*, 300–1; D. L. Cairns, *Aidos* (Oxford, 1993), 27–47.

66 Bremmer, *Soul*, 24–53.

67 For these catalogues see Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 147 n. 146.

68 Dodds, *The Greeks*, 147, where he also compares the oracle-giving head of Orpheus, but such heads are not typically shamanistic, cf. Bremmer, *Soul*, 46f.

69 Cf. Graf, 'Orpheus'; Bremmer, 'Orpheus: From Guru to Gay', in Ph. Borgeaud (ed.), *Orphisme et Orphée en l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt* (Geneva, 1991), 13–30; M.-X. Garezou, *LIMC* VII. 1 (1994), s. v. Orpheus.

70 *SEG* 33. 722. See most recently R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983), 209–11; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983), 45–53. West also suggests that the legends about Epimenides were largely derived from the Athenian heros Epimenides/Bouzyges. It surely is rather the other way round, since the name Epimenides hardly fits the name of the ancestor of the Bouzygai family. Moreover, G. Herman, 'Nikias, Epimenides and the Question of Omissions in Thucydides', *CQ* 39 (1989), 83–93 has made a persuasive case that Epimenides was brought to Athens by an ancestor of the fifth-century Nicias.

71 P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford, 1981), 81–4. This tradition is also presupposed by Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 69 (so, rightly, Jacoby *ad loc*.), and the doubts of West, *Orphic Poems*, 45–6 seem exaggerated.

72 For all testimonia see W. Bühler, *Zenobii Athoi proverbia* V (Göttingen, 1998), 331–3 (with also the testimonia about his miraculously long life). The theme deserves further analysis, but for some preliminary observations and parallels see F. Karlinger, *Zauberschlaf und Entrückung* (Vienna, 1986).

73 Roots: DL 1. 112. Food: Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 4 (?); Theophr. *Hist. pl*. 7. 12. 1; Hermippos *FGrH* 1026 F12 with J. Bollansée *ad loc*; Plut. *Mor*. 157D; DL 1. 114, cf. W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1992), 62f. Crete: see most recently Noort, *Seevölker*, 37f.

74 For ecstasy and the Nymphs see W. R. Connor, 'Seized by the Nymphs: Nympholepsy and Symbolic Expression in Classical Greece', *Class. Ant*. 7 (1988), 155–89.

75 Suda, s. v. *Epimenidês*, cf. Dodds, *The Greeks*, 163 n. 42, followed by Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 151 n. 166.

76 So, rightly, Jacoby *ad* Epimenides *FGrH* 457 T1, who is insufficiently taken into account by Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 150f.

77 Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 55–64.

78 Thaletas: Pratinas *TGrF* 4 F 9; Ael. *VH*. 12. 50. Apollo and Orphics: Parker, *Miasma* 142 n. 161f.

79 Foreign origin: F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 29.

Thessaly: Ar. *Nub*. 749–50; Pl. *Grg*. 513a; Sosiphanes *TGrF* 92 F 1; Men. *Thessale*; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od*. 1. 21. 21; Bremmer, 'The Birth of the Term "Magic"', *ZPE* 126 (1999), 1–12 at 4.

80 Abaris: Rohde, *Psyche* II, 90–1; Jacoby on Hippostratus *FGrH* 568 F 4 (chronology); Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 149–50 (Pythagoras); West, *Orphic Poems*, 54; H. S. Versnel, *Transition & Reversal in Myth & Ritual* (Leiden, 1993), 302–3 (Hyperborean Apollo).

81 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 152–3; Dowden, 'Apollon', 296; Kassel-Austin on Cratinus F 238 (Phormio).

82 L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta* VII (Amsterdam, 1990), 213; J. B. Curbera, *ZPE* 117 (1997), 92.

83 Jacoby *ad FGrH* 34–35, Addenda, evidently overlooked by J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford, 1962), and A. Ivantchik, 'La datation du poème l'*Arimaspée* d'Aristéas de Proconnèse', *Ant. Class*. 62 (1993), 35–67 (around 500 BC); see also Burkert, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 235 (first half of sixth century); Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 147–9; Bremmer, *Soul*, 25–38; S. West, 'Herodotus on Aristeas', forthcoming.

84 A. Henrichs, 'Der rasende Gott: Zur Psychologie des Dionysos und des Dionysischen in Mythos und Literatur', *Antike & Abendland* 40 (1994), 31–58 at 50f.

85 For a possible representation of such a flight by perhaps Aristeas himself see M. Schmidt, '*Phoibolamptos*. Ein Artgenosse des Aristeas von Prokonnesos?', in *Storia, poesia e pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante* (Naples, 1994), 565–71.

86 A. Bottini, *Archeologia della salvezza* (Milano, 1992), 97. However, as Ivantchik, 'La datation', 63–7 persuasively argues, Herodotus has probably mistaken the Metapontine hero Aristaeus for Aristeas.

87 Bremmer, *Soul*, 35–6; add now E. Haase, *Der Schamanismus der Eskimos* (Aachen, 1987), 27–33.

88 Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 151 n. 166.

89 Apollonius, *Mem*. 3; see also Pliny, *NH*. 7. 174; Plut. *Mor*. 592C-E ('Hermodorus'); Tert. *An*. 44; Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages ameriquains*, I. 362–3 ~ Fenton and Moore, *Customs*, I. 231 (comparison with Indian concept of the soul!); Bremmer, *Soul*, 25–7, 38–43; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 390–5.

90 Cf. Bremmer, *Soul*, 40 (India), 49 (king); Bremmer, 'Orpheus', 20–23 (exclusion of women).

91 L. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), 361–72.

92 Cf. Ar. *Met*. 984b15, fr. 61; J. Lesher, 'Mind's Knowledge and Powers of Control in Anaxagoras DK B12', *Phronesis* 40 (1995), 125–42.

93 See W. D. Ross, *The Works of Aristotle in English translation*, 12 vols in 13 (Oxford, 1908–52), XII. 23; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (Oxford, 1962), 38–47 at 42–3 ascribes the fragment to the *Eudemos*.

94 But see H. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford, 1980), 111 n. 79, who mentions Bidez' suggestion that Empedo-timos is semantically equivalent to Empedo-kles. For Empedotimos see now J. Whittaker, 'Varia Posidoniana', *Echo Monde Class.* 16 (1997), 305–15 at 305–9 with various new, hitherto neglected testimonies.

95 See especially his *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism* (London, 1989) and *Heresiography in Context. Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy* (Leiden, 1992).

96 West, *Orphic Poems*, 1–38, 45–56.

97 Platonists and Peripatetics: Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 163; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 394. Pythagoreans: Dowden, 'Apollon', 295–8.

98 This chapter has profited from lectures in Budapest, Jerusalem and Munich (1995), Harvard (1999), as well as Oxford, Reading and Columbia (2000). For discussions, information and revisions of my English I would like to thank Ken Dowden, Bob Fowler, Richard Janko and Joshua Katz. I had already written this chapter before the appearance of L. Zhmud, *Wissenschaft, Philosophie und Religion im frühen Pythagoreismus*

(Berlin, 1997), 107–16, who arrives at the same conclusion along a different, less detailed, route.

4 THE RESURRECTION FROM ZOROASTER TO LATE ANTIQUITY

1 Note also A. *Ag*. 568–9, 1019–24; Ar. *An*. 1. 3; Lucr. 3. 929.
2 See the very full enumeration in C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher 'Cohortatio ad Graecos')*, 2 vols (Basel, 1994), II. 428f.
3 G. af Hällström, *Carnis resurrectio. The Interpretation of a Credal Form* (Helsinki, 1988).
4 J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine. On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago and London, 1991).
5 E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, resurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le Judaïsme ancien. Vol. I. La Résurrection des morts et le contexte scripturaire. Vol. II. Les Données qumraniennes et classiques*, 2 vols (Paris, 1993).
6 C. W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336* (New York, 1995); note the highly interesting review by B. D. Shaw, *The New Republic*, 17 April 1995, 43–8.
7 For a good survey of the *status quaestionis* see H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London and Philadelphia, 1990).
8 The literature is immense. For good surveys, with extensive bibliographies, see P. Hoffmann, 'Auferstehung I/3. Neues Testament', *TRE* 4 (1979), 450–67 and G. Nickelsburg, 'Resurrection', in D. N. Freedman (ed.), *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5 (New York, 1992), 684–91. Note also more recently H. J. de Jonge, *Visionaire ervaring en de historische oorsprong van het Christendom* (Leiden, 1992); S. Barton and G. Stanton (eds), *Resurrection. Essays in Honour of Leslie Houlden* (London, 1994); S. Davis *et al.* (eds), *The Resurrection. An Interdisciplinary Symposium on the Resurrection of Jesus* (Oxford, 1997); G. Nickelsburg, 'Resurrection', in L. Schiffman and J. C. Vanderkam (eds), *Encyclopaedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2000), II. 764–7.
9 J. Becker, *Auferstehung der Toten im Urchristentum* (Stuttgart, 1976).
10 G. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 177–80; J. P. Meier, 'The Debate on the Resurrection of the Dead: An Incident from the Ministry of the Historical Jesus?', *J. Study New Test*. 77 (2000), 3–24.
11 See the careful investigation by J. Holleman, *Resurrection and Parousia. A Traditio-Historical Study of Paul's Eschatology in 1 Corinthians 15* (Leiden, 1997).
12 *2 Maccabees* 7; *Wisdom of Solomon* 2–5; Pseudo-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities* 40. 4; Holleman, *Resurrection*, 140–52; J. W. van Henten, *The Maccabean Saviours of the Jewish People. A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees* (Leiden, 1997), 172–84.
13 *Daniel* 12. 2–3; *1 Enoch* 51; *2 Baruch* 30. 1; *4 Ezra* 7. 26–44; J. J. Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis, 1993), 395f.
14 For the Pharisees see now R. Deines, *Die Pharisäer. Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz* (Tübingen, 1997).
15 Puech, *Croyance* I, 202–12 (Sadducees), 213–42 (Pharisees). For the different opinions in ancient Judaism about the resurrection see also Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*; G. Stemberger, *Der Leib der Auferstehung* (Rome, 1972); H. C. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum und im frühen Christentum I. Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II. 19. 1 (Berlin and New York, 1979), 240–345; H. Sysling, *Techiyyat Ha-Metim: the resurrection of the dead in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and parallel traditions in classical Rabbinic literature* (Tübingen, 1996).
16 Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum und im frühen Christentum I. Spätjudentum', 245–9; W. Horbury and D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), xxiv; W. Horbury, 'Jewish Inscriptions and Jewish

Literature in Egypt, with Special Reference to Ecclesiasticus', in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst (eds), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy* (Leiden, 1994), 9–43.

17 The best description of the events surrounding the finding and delays in the process of publication is J. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids, 1994), 1–12, 187–201; note also various studies in R. Kugler and E. Schuller (eds), *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty* (Atlanta, 1999).

18 E. Puech, 'Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)', *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992), 475–519; idem, *Croyance* II, 627–92 and '4Q521. 4QApocalypse Messianique', in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* XXV (Oxford, 1998), 1–38. *Contra*: J. J. Collins: 'The Works of the Messiah', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994), 98–112; *The Scepter and the Star* (New York, 1995), 132; *Apocalyptic in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London, 1997), 111–28, and 'Jesus, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in J. H. Charlesworth *et al*. (eds), *Qumran-Messianism* (Tübingen, 1998), 100–19.

19 4Q521, fr. 2 Col. II. 9–13 and fr. 7 + 5 Col. II. 5–12, quoted from the authoritative translation by F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2000^2), II. 1045–7.

20 F. García Martínez, 'Tradiciones apocalípticas en Qumran: *4QSecondEzekiel*', in A. Vivian (ed.), *Biblische und Judaistische Studien. Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi* (Frankfurt, 1990), 303–21 at 313–5; M. Kister and E. Qimron, *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992), 596; García Martínez, 'Le *IVe Esdras* et les MSS de Qumran', in G. Sed-Rajna (ed.), *Hommage à Ephraïm E. Urbach* (Paris, 1993), 81–90; S. Goranson, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995), 84f.

21 As is persuasively argued in the review of Puech by J. Collins, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994), 246–52.

22 Compare F. García Martínez, *Qumran & Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992), 140, 146; Puech, *Croyance* II, 568–70; Collins (n. 21), 251f.

23 *Contra* Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 2–4; U. Schnelle, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Göttingen, 1994), 184; M. Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ* (Harrisburg, 2000). For the use of *euangelia* see C. Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire. Supplément* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1982), 296–306; G. H. R. Horsley (ed.), *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 3 (Macquarie, 1983), 10–15 and 5 (1989), 73–4; add *SEG* 33. 350, 1072 (Meter Euangelia); 41. 969; 44. 416.

24 Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 121f.

25 F. García Martínez, 'Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis', *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988), 113–36; *idem* and A. S. van der Woude, 'A "Groningen" Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History', *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990), 521–41. For a different view see now J. G. Campbell, 'Essene–Qumran Origins in Exile: A Sceptical Basis?', *J. Jewish Stud*. 46 (1995), 143–56.

26 For a useful juxtaposition of both texts see Puech, *Croyance* II, 763–9.

27 C. Burchard, 'Die Essener bei Hippolyt, Ref. IX 18,2 – 28,2 und Josephus, Bell. 2, 119–161', *J. Stud. Judaism* 8 (1977), 1–41; similarly, C. Scholten, 'Hippolytus', *RAC* 15 (1990), 492–551 at 521–2; T. Rajak, 'Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe vide: Josephus and the Essenes', in F. Parente and J. Sievers (eds), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden, 1994), 141–60 at 152f.

28 Puech, *Croyance* II, 703–62.

29 K. Koschorke, *Hippolyt's Ketzerbekämpfung und Polemik gegen die Gnostiker* (Wiesbaden, 1975); for more examples see E. G. Hinson, 'Did Hippolytus Know Essenes Firsthand?', *Studia Patristica* 18. 3 (1989), 283–9.

30 Compare the following studies by J. Mansfeld, 'Heraclitus fr. B 63 D.-K. ', *Elenchos* 4 (1983), 197–205, repr. in Mansfeld, *Studies in Later Greek Philosophy and Gnosticism* (London, 1989), Ch. VIII; 'Resurrection Added: the Interpretatio Christiana of a Stoic

Doctrine', *VigChris* 37 (1983), 218–33 = *Studies*, Ch. II; *Heresiography in Context. Hippolytus' Elenchos as a Source for Greek Philosophy* (Leiden, 1992).

31 For conflagration in pagan, Jewish and early Christian sources see more recently F. X. Murphy, 'Conflagration: the Eschatological Perspective from Origen to John Chrysostom', *Studia Patristica* 18. 1 (1989), 179–85; F. García Martínez, 'Fin del Mundo o Transformación de la Historia? La Apocalíptica Intertestamentaria', *Communio* 27 (1994), 3–33 at 20–4; F. G. Downing, 'Common Strands in Pagan, Jewish and Christian Eschatologies in the First Century', *Theol. Zs*. 51 (1995), 196–211 and 'Cosmic Eschatology in the First Century: "Pagan", Jewish and Christian', *Ant. Class*. 64 (1995), 99–109; P. W. van der Horst, *Hellenism – Judaism – Christianity* (Leuven, 1998[2]), 271–92.

32 For Christians and *ekpyrosis* see Mansfeld, 'Resurrection Added', 220–1; idem, *Heresiography in Context*, 239.

33 Thus Collins (n. 21), 252.

34 García Martínez, *Qumran & Apocalyptic*, 71–2; Collins, *Daniel*, 394–8.

35 On this influential German 'school' and its most important representative, Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920), see more recently A. F. Verheule, *Wilhelm Bousset, Leben und werk. Ein theologiegeschichtlicher Versuch* (Amsterdam, 1973); G. Lüdemann and M. Schröder, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen. Eine Dokumentation* (Göttingen, 1987); G. Lüdemann, 'Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule', in B. Moeller (ed.), *Theologie in Göttingen* (Göttingen, 1987), 325–61; *idem*, in H. M. Müller (ed.), *Kulturprotestantismus. Beiträge zu einer Gestalt des modernen Christentums* (Gütersloh, 1992), 78–107, 311–38; K. Rudolph, 'Eduard Nordens Bedeutung für die frühchristliche Religionsgeschichte, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule"', in B. Kytzler *et al*. (eds), *Eduard Norden (1868–1941), ein deutscher Gelehrter von jüdischer Herkunft* (Stuttgart, 1994), 83–105.

36 J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Anquetil-Duperron', in *EI* II (London, 1987), 100–1; D. Metzler, 'A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) und das Konzept der Achsenzeit', in J. W. Drijvers and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds), *Achaemenid History* 7 (Leiden, 1991), 123–33; the introductory essays to Anquetil Duperron, *Voyage en Inde 1754–1762* (Paris, 1997); M. Stausberg, '"mais je passai outre"- Zur Frühgeschichte des Orientalismus': Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron und die Zoroastrier in Surat (1758–1760)', *Temenos* 34 (1998), 221–50.

37 A. Hintze, 'The Avesta in the Parthian Period', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), 147–61.

38 K. Hoffmann and J. Narten, *Der Sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zur Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen* (Wiesbaden, 1989); J. Kellens, 'Considérations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta', *Journal Asiatique* 26 (1998), 451–519.

39 As is argued by J. Kellens, *Zoroastre et l'Avesta ancien* (Louvain and Paris, 1991), 62–3; for further arguments, P. O. Skjaervø and C. Watkins *apud* Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York, 1995), 57–8 n. 11. For the debate about the author of the Old Avesta see now P. O. Skjaervø, 'The State of Old Avestan Scholarship', *J. Am. Or. Soc*. 117 (1997), 103–14.

40 J. Kellens, 'Avesta', *EI* III (London and New York, 1989), 35–44; K. Hoffmann, 'Avestan Language', *ibid*, 47–51; Kellens, *Zoroastre*, 11–25. For a very full *Forschungsbericht* on the history of the study of the Avesta see C. Herrenschmidt, 'Il était une fois dans l'est', in F. Schmidt (ed.), *L'impensable polythéisme* (Paris, 1988), 301–39.

41 See especially her monumental *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1975–1991).

42 For example, H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Tübingen, 1930), 232f, whose discussion is still quoted by H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Der iranische Auferstehungsglaube', in Klimkeit (ed.), *Tod und Jenseits im Glauben der Völker* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 62–76 at 66–70.

43 H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938[1] (Osnabrück, 1966[2]), 309; J. Kellens, 'Caractères du Mazdéisme antique', in Schmidt, *L'impensable polythéisme*, 341–71 at 344–52; Kellens, 'L'eschatologie mazdéenne ancienne', in S. Shaked and A. Netzer (eds), *Irano-Judaica* III (Jerusalem, 1994), 49–53.

44 So G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), 105.

45 As was acutely observed by E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1902), 102 (hardly surprisingly, in his Preface he thanks Bousset for his many suggestions); similarly Nyberg, *Religionen des alten Iran*, 310; S. Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran* (London, 1994), 40f. For the Zoroastrian way of disposing of the dead see M. Boyce, 'Corpse', *EI* VI (Costa Mesa, 1993), 279–86, and 'Death', *EI* VII. 2 (Costa Mesa, 1994), 179–81.

46 Its occurrence in Central Asia was already known to Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 108; Strabo 11. 11. 3, 15. 1. 62; F. Grenet, *Les pratiques funéraires dans l'Asie Centrale sédentaire de la conquête grecque à l'islamisation* (Paris, 1984).

47 Widengren, *Religionen Irans*, 35–6, overlooked by F. Grenet, 'Burial II', *EI* IV (London and New York, 1990), 559–61. Widengren, 36, wrongly states that the practice of cremating was prevalent in the Zoroastrian homeland, since K. Hoffmann, *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*, 3 vols (Wiesbaden, 1975–92), I. 338 has convincingly demonstrated that Avestan *daxma* means 'grave' not 'place of cremation'.

48 See the judicious analysis by J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien* (Munich, 1993), 139–48; B. Jacobs, 'Der Tod des Bessos – Ein Beitrag zur Frage des Verhältnisses der Achämeniden zur Lehre des Zoroastres', *Acta Praehistorica et archaeologica* 24 (1992 [1995]), 177–86; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse* (Paris, 1996), 105f.

49 A. Shahbazi, 'Astōdan', *EI* II, 851–3; D. Huff, 'Zum Problem zoroastrischer Grabanlagen in Fars, I: Gräber', *Arch. Mitt. Iran* NF 21 (1988), 145–76.

50 *Contra* C. McDannell and B. Lang, *Heaven. A History* (New Haven and London, 2001[2]), 12–13; see also B. Lang, 'Afterlife – Ancient Israel's Changing Vision of the World Beyond', *Bible Review* 4 (1988), 12–23.

51 H. Humbach, *The Gâthâs of Zarathustra and the Other Old Avestan Texts*, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 1991), I. 68f.

52 G. Widengren, 'Leitende Ideen und Quellen der iranischen Apokalyptik', in D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983), 77–162 at 81, wrongly speaks of a 'wiederkehrendes Thema'.

53 See the new editions by E. Pirart, *Kayân Yasn (Yasht 19. 9–96): l'origine avestique des dynasties mythiques d'Iran* (Barcelona, 1992); A. Hintze, *Der Zamyād-Yāšt* (Wiesbaden, 1994); H. Humbach and P. R. Ichaporia, *Zamyad Yasht: Yasht 19 of the Younger Avesta; Text, Translation, Commentary* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

54 Parallels from early Rome and ancient Ireland indicate proto-Indo-European origins, cf. A. de Jong, 'Khvarenah', in *DDD*, 481–3; add J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* (London, 1987), 56 (Bremmer); P. Calmeyer, 'Fortuna – Tyche – Kharnah', *Jahrb. Deuts. Arch. Inst.* 94 (1979), 347–65; E. Campanile, 'Meaning and Prehistory of OIr. *lúan láith*', in M. A. Jazayery and W. Winter (eds), *Languages and Cultures. Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé* (Berlin and New York, 1988), 89–95; K. Tanabe, 'Iranian Xvarnah and the Treasure of Shosoin at Nara in Japan', *Iranica Antiqua* 23 (1988), 365–84; T. Daryaee, 'The Use of Religio-Political Propaganda on the Coinage of Xusro II', *Am. J. Numism.* 9 (1997), 41–53; A. Lubotsky, 'Avestan *xvarenah-*: the Etymology and the Concept', in W. Meid (ed.), *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen* (Innsbruck, 1998), 479–88; R. Gyselen, 'Un dieu nimbé de flammes d'époque sassanide', *Iranica Antiqua* 35 (2000), 291–310.

55 C. Herrenschmidt and J. Kellens, 'La Question du rituel: le mazdéisme ancien et achémenide', *Arch. de Sc. soc. des Rel.* 85 (1994), 45–67.

56 A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi* (Leiden, 1997), 326–8 and 'Shadow and Resurrection', *Bull. Asia Inst*. 9 (1995 [1997]), 215–24.

57 Persian religion: A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1975), 141–7; H. Gottschalk, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford, 1980), 112. Judaism: Gottschalk, *ibid*; E. Gabba, 'The Growth of Anti-Judaism or the Greek Attitude towards the Jews', in W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* II (Cambridge, 1989), 614–56.

58 Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus* p. 64. 8–10 Colonna; M. Boyce, *EI* II, 155. Note that the passage already drew the attention of Ficino, cf. M. Stausberg, *Faszination Zarathustra*, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1998), I. 203f.

59 See the fascinating discussion by Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation*, 27–51. Kirder: Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdir* (Paris, 1991).

60 J. P. Asmussen, 'Christians in Iran', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* III (2), (Cambridge, 1983), 924–48; J. Russell, 'Christianity I', *EI* V (Costa Mesa, 1992), 523–8; Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien*, 380 (with further bibliography) and '"Geteilte Loyalitäten". Religiöse Minderheiten des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. im Spannungsfeld zwischen Rom und dem sasanidischen Iran', *Klio* 75 (1993), 362–82; J. Rist, 'Die Verfolgung der Christen im spätantiker Sasanidenreich: Ursachen, Verlauf und Folgen', *Oriens Antiquus* 80 (1996), 17–42; A. V. Williams, 'Zoroastrians and Christians in Sasanian Iran', *Bull. John Rylands Univ. Library Manchester* 78. 3 (1996), 37–53.

61 Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 414–15; Hintze, 'The Avesta', 156.

62 J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Apocalypse juive et apocalypse iranienne', in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano* (Leiden, 1982), 753–61; many articles by Ph. Gignoux, see most recently his 'Apocalypses et voyages extra-terrestres dans l'Iran mazdéen', in C. Kappler (ed.), *Apocalypses et voyages dans l'au-delà* (Paris, 1987), 351–74; 'L'apocalyptique iranienne est-elle vraiment la source d'autres apocalypses?', *Acta Ant. Hung*. 31 (1988), 67–78; Kellens, 'L'eschatologie', 53.

63 Widengren, 'Leitende Ideen'; A. Hultgård, '*Bahman Yasht*: A Persian Apocalypse', in J. Collins and J. Charlesworth (eds), *Mysteries and Revelations* (Sheffield, 1991), 114–34.

64 *Contra* Shaked, *Dualism in Transformation*, 31.

65 On this thorny problem see the more sceptical views of J. Neusner, 'Jews in Iran', in Yarshater, *Cambridge Hist. Iran* III, 909–23; J. Barr, 'The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity', *J. Am. Ac. Rel*. 53 (1985), 201–35 (unsatisfactory regarding the resurrection).

66 For a survey see A. H. C. van Eijk, 'Only that Can Rise which Has Previously Fallen: The History of a Formula', *J. Theol. Stud*. NS 22 (1971), 517–29; *idem*, *La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques* (Paris, 1974); Puech, *Croyance* I, 293–301.

67 H. E. Lona, *Über die Auferstehung des Fleisches* (Berlin and New York, 1993).

68 For the most recent edition see M. L. Peel, 'The Treatise on the Resurrection', in H. W. Attridge (ed.), *Nag Hammadi Codex I (The Jung Codex)*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1985), I. 123–57, II. 137–215 (notes).

69 W. C. van Unnik, 'The Newly Discovered Gnostic "Epistle to Rheginos" on the Resurrection', *J. Eccles. Hist*. 15 (1964), 141–52, 153–67, repr. in his *Sparsa Collecta*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1973–83), III. 244–72 (dating); most recently, Lona, *Über die Auferstehung*, 217–33; M. J. Edwards, 'The *Epistle to Rheginus*: Valentinianism in the Fourth Century', *Novum Test*. 37 (1995), 76–91 (whose late dating is unconvincing).

70 As is shown by G. Casadio, 'Gnostische Wege zur Unsterblichkeit', in E. Hornung and Th. Schabert (eds), *Auferstehung und Unsterblichkeit* (Munich, 1993), 203–54; B.

Pouderon, 'Le "De resurrectione" d'Athénagore face à la gnose valentienne', *Recherches August*. 28 (1995), 145–83.

71 E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York, 1979), 3–27 at 27; J. Gager, 'Body-Symbols and Social Reality: Resurrection, Incarnation, and Asceticism in Early Christianity', *Religion* 12 (1982), 345–64.

72 The discussion by Bynum, *The Resurrection*, 109–13, is too kind in this respect.

73 *Mart. Lugd*. 1. 67, tr. H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), 81–3. For a detailed discussion of this case and other examples see D. G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London and New York, 1997), 242–64; add P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jabahala . . .* (Leipzig, 1895[2]), 270; P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *I martirii di S. Teodoto e di S. Ariadne* (Rome, 1901), 67 (the body of the martyr Valens is thrown into the Halys). St. Mitchell, 'The Life of Saint Theodotus of Ancyra', *Anat. Stud*. 32 (1982), 93–113 stresses the value of this martyrium which may have been written during the reign of Julian, but reports a martyrdom of AD 312.

74 W. H. Frend, 'The Gnostic Sects and the Roman Empire', *J. Eccles. Hist*. 5 (1954), 25–37, repr. in Frend, *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries* (London, 1976), Ch. II; J. Holzhausen, 'Gnosis und Martyrium. Zu Valentins viertem Fragment', *Zs. Neut. Wiss.* 85 (1994), 116–31.

75 Smith, *Drudgery Divine.* The importance attached to the book is well illustrated by L. J. Alderink *et al*., 'Panel on Jonathan Z. Smith's *Drudgery Divine*', *Numen* 39 (1992), 217–38.

76 Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 36–46.

77 P. Cabanel, 'L'institutionnalisation des "sciences religieuses" en France (1879–1908). Une entreprise protestante?', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 140 (1994), 33–79.

78 See most recently M. Heerma van Voss, 'Osiris', in *DDD*, 649–51.

79 See most recently M. Koortbojían, *Myth, Meaning and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1995); S. Ribichini, 'Adonis', in *DDD*, 7–10.

80 For example, note the protest of K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, 3 vols (Tübingen, 1928–32), II. 6f.

81 Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 103f.

82 On Lambrechts see G. Sanders, 'Pieter Lambrechts', *Jaarboek Kon. Ac. België* 36 (1974), 370–403.

83 W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1979), 99–101, 105–11; H.-P. Müller, 'Sterbende und auferstehende Vegetationsgötter?', *Theol. Zs*. 53 (1997), 74–82 and 'Die Geschichte der phönizischen und punischen Religion', *J. Semitic Stud*. 44 (1999), 17–33; B. Alster, 'Tammuz', in *DDD*, 828–34.

84 *Contra* Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 112–14.

85 R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London, 1981).

86 The Adonis cult at Byblos has demonstrably undergone Egyptian influence, even to the extent that some people called the god Osiris, cf. Burkert, *Structure and History*, 193–4; for a similar influence in Alexandria note J. J. Thierry, *Adonis in de vroegchristelijke literatuur* (Amsterdam, 1978), 19.

87 See the brilliant study by St. Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians', in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), 81–148; add now W. Ameling, 'Ein Verehrer des Theos Hypsistos in Prusa ad Olympum (IK 39, 115)', *Epigr. Anat*. 31 (1999), 105–8; R. Dengler, 'Brief über Steuereintreibung', *Arch. f. Papyrusf*. 46 (2000), 41–9; C. Marek, 'Der höchste, beste, grösste, allmächtige Gott', *Epigr. Anat*. 32 (2000), 129–46. Note also the 'material' influence of Christian church architecture on the synagogue: D. Milson, 'Ecclesiastical Furniture in Late Antique Synagogues in Palestine', in St.

Mitchell and G. Creatrex (eds), *Ethnicity and Culture in Late Antiquity* (London, 2000), 221–40.

88 On Attis see the many studies by Lambrechts mentioned by Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 100; M. J. Vermaseren, *LIMC* III. 1 (1986), s. v. Attis.

89 J. Day, 'The Development of Belief in Life after Death in Ancient Israel', in J. Barton and D. Reimer (eds), *After the Exile. Essays in Honour of Rex Mason* (Macon, 1996), 231–58. Day (242), also points out the differences between earlier Israelite ideas about the resurrection and Zoroastrian thought.

90 R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 585–92 (who is perhaps too conservative in his views); D. Praet, 'Explaining the Christianization of the Roman Empire', *Sacris Erudiri* 33 (1992–3), 5–119; P. van Minnen, 'The Roots of Egyptian Christianity', *Arch. f. Papyrusf.* 40 (1994), 71–85; K. Hopkins, 'Christian Number and Its Implication', *J. Early Christ. Stud.* 6 (1998), 185–226.

91 The objections against the trustworthiness of our main source for Attis' resurrection, Firmicus Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum* 3. 1, by S. Légasse, 'Firmicus Maternus, les mystères et la sotériologie paulinienne', in A. Dupleix (ed.), *Recherches et tradition. Mélanges patristiques offerts à Henri Crouzel, s. j.* (Paris, 1992), 181–8, overlook the references to the resurrection in Hippolytus, *Ref.* V. 8. 22–24 (and 5. 9. 8). See now the subtle discussion by Ph. Borgeaud, *La mère des dieux de Cybèle à la vierge Marie* (Paris, 1996), 79–88, 146–53, 155.

92 Smith's selectivity in choosing data for discussion is also observed by H. G. Kippenberg, in Alderink, 'Panel', 223; similarly, M. Clauss, 'Mithras und Christus', *Hist. Zs.* 243 (1986), 265–85 and *Mithras* (Munich, 1990), 175.

93 Justin, *I Apol.* 66. 4, *Dialog.* 70. 1, 78. 6; Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum* 40, cf. M. Meslin, 'Convivialité ou Communion sacramentelle? Repas mithraïque et Eucharistie chrétienne', in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon* (Paris, 1978), 295–305 (denies Christian influence); M. Simon, *Le Christianisme antique et son contexte religieux. Scripta Varia*, 2 vols (Tübingen, 1981), II. 656–7; P. Beskow, 'Tertullian on Mithras', in J. Hinnells (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism* (Rome, 1994), 51–60.

94 *Et nos {s}ervasti . . . sanguine fuso*, cf. Simon, *Le Christianisme* II, 681–92 at 692 ('tout au moins présomption d'influence chrétienne'); H. D. Betz, *Hellenismus und Urchristentum* (Tübingen, 1990), 86–7; R. L. Gordon, 'Viewing Mithraic Art: the altar from Burginatium (Kalkar), Germania Inferior', *Arys* 1 (1998), 227–58 at 246 (most recent reading of the text).

95 See now R. Gordon, 'Who Worshipped Mithras?', *J. Rom. Arch.* 7 (1994), 457–74 at 462; R. Beck, 'The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of their Genesis', *J. Rom. Stud.* 88 (1998), 115–28; B. Jacobs, *Die Herkunft und Entstehung der römischen Mithrasmysterien* (Konstanz, 1999). For Mithras in Commagene and neigbouring Cappadocia add now E. Winter, 'Mithraism and Christianity in Late Antiquity', in Mitchell and Creatrex, *Ethnicity and Culture*, 173–82 (recently discovered Mithraea) and D. Berges and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Tyana*, 2 vols (Bonn, 2000), I. 211–12, 249, respectively.

96 P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen, 1989^2).

97 G. Bowersock, *Fiction into History: Nero to Julian* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1994); add R. Kany, 'Der Lukanische Bericht von Tod und Auferstehung Jesu aus der Sicht eines hellenistischen Romanlesers', *Novum Testamentum* 28 (1986), 75–90; V. Schmidt, 'Lukian über die Aufstehung der Toten', *VigChris* 49 (1995), 388–92.

98 Polemo, *De physiognomia*, pp. 160–4 Förster; Lucian, *Lover of Lies*, 13 and *Alexander of Abounoteichos*, 24.

99 Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius*, 4. 45, cf. Bowersock, *Fiction as History*, 109f. Note also the often overlooked mention in Historia Augusta, *Vita Aureliani* 24. 3. 8.

100 An earlier version of this chapter appeared as 'The Resurrection between Zarathustra and Jonathan Z. Smith', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 50 (1996), 89–107. Various versions have profited from observations by Florentino García Martínez, Stephen Harrison, Ton Hilhorst, Ab de Jong, Joshua Katz, Gerard Luttikhuizen, Hans-Friedrich Mueller, Eibert Tigchelaar, Karel van der Toorn and the late Adam van der Woude.

5 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AFTERLIFE: FROM THE *PASSION OF PERPETUA* TO PURGATORY

1 For the most recent surveys of early Christian views in this respect see B. E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church. A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Cambridge, 1991); C. Colpe *et al*., 'Jenseits', *RAC* 17 (1996), 246–407 at 345–401.

2 But see N. Gauthier, 'Les images de l'au-delà durant l'antiquité chrétienne', *R. Et. Aug*. 33 (1987), 3–22.

3 See most recently L. J. van der Lof, 'Abraham's Bosom in the Writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian and Augustine', *Augustinian Studies* 26 (1995), 109–23; R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead* (Leiden, 1998), 97–118. The motif of lying in Abraham's bosom does not occur in Jewish epitaphs, but was popular in Christian ones, cf. G. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* III (North Ryde NSW, 1983), 106–7. For the accompanying by angels see A. Recheis, *Engel, Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome, 1958).

4 For the term 'Paradise' see Appendix 2.

5 F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* I (Zürich and Neukirchen, 1989), 13f. H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels* (London and Philadelphia, 1990), 337 dates the *Gospel of Luke* even after the turn of the first century.

6 E. Koch, 'Höllenfahrt Christi', *TRE* 15 (1986), 455–61; C. Colpe, 'Höllenfahrt', *RAC* 15 (1991), 1015–23 at 1021–2; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 38–44.

7 For a good discussion of the value of these materials see G. Bowersock, *Martyrdom and Rome* (Cambridge, 1995), 23–39. His analysis is much more balanced than K. Hopkins, *A World full of Gods: Pagans Jews, and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London, 1999), 111–23, who pronounces the *Acta martyrum* to be fiction on the basis of G. A. Bisbee, *Pre-Decian Acts of Martyrs and Commentarii* (Philadelphia, 1988). Instead, he should have referred to G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali* (Milano, 1973), which was overlooked by Bisbee. For many individual passages and reviews of recent studies see J. den Boeft and J. Bremmer, 'Notiunculae martyrologicae I-V', *VigChris* 35 (1981), 43–56; 36 (1982), 383–402; 39 (1985), 110–30; 45 (1991), 105–22; 49 (1995), 146–64.

8 I have used the translations, sometimes modified, of H. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford, 1972), whose texts are often improved upon in A. A. R. Bastiaensen *et al*., *Atti e passioni dei martiri* (Turin, 1987); see also the Dutch translations by J. N. Bremmer and J. den Boeft, *Martelaren van de Oude Kerk* (Kampen, 1988).

9 For the *Passion* see most recently P. Habermehl, *Perpetua und der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1992); B. Shaw, 'The Passion of Perpetua', *Past & Present* 139 (1993), 3–45; A. R. Birley, 'Persecutors and Martyrs in Tertullian's Africa', in D. F. Clark *et al*. (eds), *The Later Roman Empire Today* (London, 1993), 37–68; J. Perkins, *The Suffering Self* (London and New York, 1995), 104–23; J. Rives, 'The Piety of a Persecutor', *J. Early Christ. Stud.* 4 (1996), 1–25; J. E. Salisbury, *Perpetua's Passion* (New York and London, 1997); R. S. Kraemer and S. L. Lander, 'Perpetua and Felicitas', in Ph. Esler (ed.), *The Early Christian World*, 2 vols (London and New York, 2000), II. 1048–68 (stimulating but perhaps too sceptical). I quote from the edition by J. Amat, *Passion de Perpétue et de Félicité suivi des Actes* (Paris, 1996).

10 For Perpetua's education see P. McKechnie, 'St. Perpetua and Roman Education in A. D. 200', *Ant. Class*. 63 (1994), 279–91.
11 It is uncertain to what extent her diary was edited, cf. Th. Heffernan, 'Philology and Authorship in the *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*', *Traditio* 50 (1995), 315–25, with the comments by F. Dolbeau, *R. Et. Aug*. 42 (1996), 312f.
12 On these visions and dreams see also C. Mertens, 'Les premiers martyrs et leur rêves. Cohésion de l'histoire et des rêves dans quelques 'Passions' latines de l'Afrique du Nord', *Rev. d'Hist. Eccl*. 81 (1986), 5–46; A. P. Orbán, 'The Afterlife in the Visions of the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*', in A. A. R. Bastiaensen *et al*. (eds), *Fructus Centesimus. Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), 269–77.
13 For this respect see F. Dolbeau, 'Un sermon inédit d'origine africaine pour la fête des Saintes Perpétue et Félicité', *Anal. Boll.* 113 (1995), 89–106; K. B. Steinhauser, 'Augustine's reading of the *Passio sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*', *Studia Patristica* 32 (1997), 244–9.
14 D. Verhaeghe-Pikhaus, 'La répartition géographique de quelques thèmes de la poésie funéraire latine', in *Akten VI. Int. Kongr. Gr. und Lat. Epigr*. (Munich, 1973), 412–14; G. Sanders, *Lapides memores* (Faenza, 1991), 204.
15 See especially P. Trousset (ed.), *L'Afrique du Nord antique et médiévale*, 2 vols (Paris, 1995), II (*Monuments funéraires. Institutions autochtones*); P. A. Février, *La Mediterranée*, 2 vols (Rome and Aix-en-Provence, 1996), I. 21–37, 243–6.
16 Tertullian, *De pudicitia* 10, 12 attests to the popularity of this particular representation of God in North Africa; in general, J. Engeman, 'Hirt', *RAC* 15 (1991), 577–607.
17 For the white garments of the blessed, which ultimately derive from *Revelation* 7. 14, see G. Sanders, *Licht en duisternis in de Christelijke grafschriften*, 2 vols (Brussels, 1965), II. 674–8.
18 Hermas, *Vis*. 3. 2. 1, cf. U. Körtner and M. Leutzsch, *Papiasfragmente. Hirt des Hermas* (Darmstadt, 1998), 407f.
19 E. Rebillard, '*Koimêtêrion* et *Coemeterium*: tombe, tombe sainte, nécropole', *Mél. Ec. Franç. Rome (A)*, 105 (1993), 975–1001; H. Brandenburg, 'Coemeterium. Der Wandel des Bestattungswesens als Zeichen des Kulturumbruchs der Spätantike', *Laverna* 5 (1994), 206–32
20 It is the great merit of C. Hill, *Regnum Caelorum. Patterns of Future Hope in Early Christianity* (Oxford, 1992), to have delineated these two 'competing' eschatologies within the early Church, although he has overlooked this important passage in the *Passion of Perpetua*. For the reflection of these views in Latin epitaphs see C. Tibiletti, 'L'oltretomba in antiche epigrafi cristiane', in L. Gasperini (ed.), *Scritti sul mondo antico in memoria di Fulvio Grosso* (Rome, 1981), 605–20.
21 Epitaphs: Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II. 432. Disappearance: A. Stuiber, *Refrigerium interim* (Bonn, 1957), 14; J. Baschet, *Les justices de l'au-delà. Les représentations de l'enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, (Rome, 1993), 33–9.
22 The literature on the subject is immense. For good introductions see N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1970[2]); H. Kippenberg, 'Apokalyptik/Messianismus/Chiliasmus', in H. Cancik *et al*. (eds), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* II (Stuttgart, 1990), 9–26; P. Boyer, *When Time Shall be no More: Prophecy Belief in Modern American Culture* (Cambridge, 1992); E. Weber, *Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults, and Millennial Beliefs through the Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
23 Sanders, *Licht en duisternis*, II. 433 and *Lapides memores*, 246.
24 This is well observed by I. Kajanto, 'The Hereafter in Ancient Christian Epigraphy and Poetry', *Arctos* 12 (1978), 27–53 (useful, but with various mistakes regarding early Christian eschatology) at 43–7.
25 *Passio Perp*. 11. 1: *Passi, inquit, eramus et exivimus de carne*.

26 J. A. Fischer, *Studien zum Todesgedanken in der alten Kirche* I (Munich, 1954), 25–40; J. Coman, 'L'immortalité de l'âme dans le Phédon et la résurrection des morts dans la littérature chrétienne des deux premiers siècles', *Helikon* 3 (1963), 17–40; Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II. 479–88 (epitaphs); J. Janssens, *Vita e morte del Cristiano negli epitaffi di Roma anteriori al sec. VII* (Rome, 1991), 79–81; M. van Uytfanghe, 'Platonisme et eschatologie chrétienne. Leur symbiose graduelle dans les Passions et les panégyriques des martyrs et dans les biographies spirituelles (II^{e}–VI^{e}s.)', in Bastiaensen, *Fructus Centesimus*, 343–62 and 'Platonisme II', in L. Holtz and J.-C. Fredouille (eds), *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes. Mélanges Jacques Fontaine*, 3 vols (Paris, 1992), I. 69–95; K. Schneider, *Studien zur Entfaltung der altkirchlichen Theologie der Auferstehung* (Bonn, 1999), 152–9 (Justin), 176–95 (Tatian).

27 P. Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, 3 vols (Paris, 1974–75), II. 325–414, who overlooked the epigraphical evidence, cf. D. Pikhaus, *Levensbeschouwing en milieu in de Latijnse metrische inscripties* (Brussels, 1978), 301–2; M. L. Violante, 'Il "corpo-prigione" in alcune epigrafi funerarie cristiane fra IV e VII secolo', *Civ. Class. Crist.* 3 (1982), 247–67.

28 Origen, *De principiis* 1. 7. 5; for these views, often less systematic and more searching than his opponents suggested, see H. Crouzel, *Les Fins dernières selon Origène* (Aldershot, 1990).

29 K. Hoheisel, 'Das frühe Christentum und die Seelenwanderung', *JAC* 27–8 (1984–5), 24–46; L Scheffczyk, *Der Reinkarnationsgedanke in der altchristlichen Literatur* (Munich, 1985); H. Frohnhofen, 'Reinkarnation und frühe Kirche', *Stimmen der Zeit* 207 (1989), 236–44; M. Maritano, 'Giustino Martire di fronte al problema della metempsicosi', *Salesianum* 54 (1992), 231–81 (with a large bibliography).

30 Origen, *Comm. Ser. in Matth*. 96 and *De principiis* 2. 3. 1–2; Evagrius, *Kephalaia Gnostica* 2. 85; G. Dorival, 'Origène a-t-il enseigné la transmigration des âmes dans les corps d'animaux? (A propos de PArch I,8,4)', in H. Crouzel and A. Quacquarelli (eds), *Origeniana Secunda* (Rome, 1980), 11–32; U. Bianchi, 'Origen's Treatment of the Soul and the Debate over Metensomatosis', in L. Ries (ed.), *Origeniana Quarta* (Innsbruck, 1987), 270–81.

31 *Pistis Sophia* 147, cf. H. J. Schoeps, 'Bemerkungen zu Reinkarnationsvorstellungen der Gnosis', *Numen* 4 (1957), 228–32.

32 Fischer, *Studien zum Todesgedanken*, 50–65; J. Scherer, *Entretien d'Origène avec Héraclide* (Paris, 1959); F. Refoulé, 'Immortalité de l'âme et resurrection de la chair', *Revue d'Hist. Rel*. 163 (1963), 11–51; R. Lim, 'Religious Disputation and Social Disorder in Late Antiquity', *Historia* 44 (1995), 204–31 at 209–15.

33 Pi. fr. 129 Maehler; Ar. *Frogs*, 455; Plut. frr. 178, 211 Sandbach.

34 *Carmina Epigraphica* 1262. 6.

35 Vergil, *A*. 6. 640–1, tr. W. F. Jackson Knight. For the great influence of Vergil on the representations of the afterlife in the Latin West see P. Courcelle, 'Les Pères de l'Eglise devant les enfers virgiliens', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Môyen Age* 22 (1955), 5–74 and *Connais-toi toi-même* II, 437–501; R. P. Hoogma, *Die Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Amsterdam, 1959); J. Fontaine, 'Images virgiliennes de l'ascension céleste dans la poésie latine chrétienne', *JAC* Suppl. 9 (1982), 55–67.

36 Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II. 826–59; H. H. Malmede, *Die Lichtsymbolik im Neuen Testament* (Wiesbaden, 1986); Janssens, *Vita e morte*, 319f.

37 For an introduction and the translation see W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. and tr. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1992^{2}), II. 620–38. Our quote derives from *c*. 16 of the Ethiopic translation, which is the most complete text we have.

38 Tert. *Ad nationes* 1. 19. 6, *De oratione* 3. 3, *Apol*. 27. 14, 47. 12; *Passio Mariani* 6; Ps.-Cyprian, *De laude martyrii* 21.

39 On these hymns see I. Ortiz de Urbina, 'Le Paradis eschatologique d'après saint Ephrem', *Or. Christ. Per.* 21 (1955), 457–72; N. Séd, 'Les Hymnes sur le Paradis et les traditions juives', *Le Muséon* 81 (1968), 455–501. For the disappearance of the seasons see also Appendix 2, Excursus 2. 2.

40 Bastiaensen, *Atti*, 439, followed by Amat, *Passion de Perpétue*, 241, wrongly *compares 2 Corinthians* 2. 14–5 and *Ephesians* 5. 2, but the idea of supernatural fragrance already occurs in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and is a heritage from pagan tradition: W. Déonna, *Euôdia. Croyances antiques et modernes* (Geneva, 1939), 163–267; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 252–3; B. Kötting, *Ecclesia peregrinans*, 2 vols (Münster, 1988), II. 23–33 ('Wohlgeruch der Heiligkeit'); G. Buschmann, *Das Martyrium des Polykarp* (Göttingen, 1998), 301–9.

41 *ILCV* 316. 6f. For the importance of roses in connection with the dead see N. Fick, 'La jonchée de roses du banquet des Arvales aux processions de la Fête-Dieu', *Euphrosyne* 25 (1997), 295–309; F. E. Brenk, *Clothed in Purple Light* (Stuttgart, 1999), 87–92. Note also the combination of spring and roses in a vision related by the late seventh-century Valerius of Bierzo, *Dicta ad beatum Donadeum*, cf. M. Diaz y Diaz, *Visiones del Más Allá en Galicia durante la Alta Edad Media* (Santiago de Compostela, 1985), 45–7.

42 Pagan and Christian epitaphs: Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II. 418–23, 886–892. *Locus amoenus*: G. Schönbeck, *Der Locus Amoenus von Homer bis Horaz* (Diss. Heidelberg, 1962); J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts* (Louvain and Paris, 1971); J. Amat, *Songes et visions. L'au-delà dans la littérature latine tardive* (Paris, 1985), 117–20; P. Hass, *Der* locus amoenus *in der antiken Literatur* (Bamberg, 1998).

43 *Contra* Orbán, 'The Afterlife in the Visions of the *Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*', who underestimates the influence of the pagan tradition. Jewish eschatology: J. P. Brown, *Israel und Hellas* III (Berlin and New York, 2001), 138–40.

44 Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II. 661–8 (Christians), 691–2 (pagans).

45 For this group aspect of the earliest Christians see W. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven and London, 1983), 84–94.

46 For the chant see L. Koenen, *ZPE* 31 (1978), 71–6; add *I. Alexandreia* 187; C. Böttrich, 'Das "Sanctus" in der Liturgie der hellenistischen Synagoge', *Jahrb. f. Liturgik u. Hymnologie* 35 (1994–95), 10–36; D. G. Martinez, *Baptized for our Sakes: A Leather Trisagion from Egypt (P. Mich. 799)* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1999).

47 For the heavy dependence of the *Passion of Perpetua* on *Revelation* in its description of the afterlife see R. Petraglio, 'Des influences de l'*Apocalypse* dans la *Passio Perpetuae* 11–13', in R. Petraglio *et al*. (eds), *L'Apocalypse de Jean. Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques. III^{e}-XIII^{e} siècles* (Geneva, 1979), 15–29.

48 L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Paris, 1925), 182.

49 Cf. H. W. Pleket, 'Religious History as the History of Mentality: the "Believer" as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World', in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith Hope and Worship* (Leiden, 1981), 152–92 at 183–9; Versnel, *Ter Unus* (Leiden, 1990), 192f.

50 For this relationship and type of language see Meeks, *First Urban Christians*, 169f.

51 For more examples and bibliography see Appendix 1.

52 For such prison conditions see B. Rapske, *The Book of Acts and Paul in Roman Custody* (Grand Rapids and Carlisle, 1994), 196–202; J.-U. Krause, *Gefängnisse im Römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1996), 273–6.

53 Cf. T. Rasmussen, 'Hölle II', *TRE* 15 (1986), 449–55; H. Vorgrimler, *Geschichte der Hölle* (Munich, 1993); A. Bernstein, *The Formation of Hell* (Ithaca and London, 1993); H.-D. Altendorf, 'Die Entstehung des theologischen Höllenbildes in der Alten Kirche', in P. Jezler (ed.), *Himmel Hölle Fegefeuer. Das Jenseits im Mittelalter* (Zürich, 1994), 27–32; Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 49–80 (Jewish roots).

54 *Mart. Polyc*. 11. 2; *Mart. Lugd*. 26; *Mart. Agape* 5. 2; see also Just. 2 *Apol*. 2. 2; *Passio Perpet*. 17.

55 J. J. Collins, 'The Afterlife in Apocalyptic Literature', in A. J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner (eds), *Judaism in Late Antiquity IV: Life-After-Death, Resurrection and The World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (Leiden, 2000), 119–39 at 122f.
56 Cf. S. Lieberman, *Texts and Studies* (New York, 1974), 29–56 ('On Sins and their Punishments'); E. Lupieri, '*Poena aeterna* nelle più antiche apocalissi cristiane apocrife non gnostiche', *Augustinianum* 23 (1983), 361–72.
57 For place and date see Th. Silverstein and A. Hilhorst, *Apocalypse of Paul* (Geneva, 1997), 11. For a useful analysis of this extremely popular Apocalypse, which is transmitted in many versions in numerous languages, see C. Carozzi, *Eschatologie et Au-delà. Recherches sur l'Apocalypse de Paul* (Aix-en-Provence, 1994), whose own edition of the text has now been superseded by that of Silverstein and Hilhorst.
58 M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983); Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, passim.
59 For the distinction made by some Church Fathers between Hades and Gehenna see Crouzel, *Les Fins dernières*, Ch. X ('L'Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène').
60 Rasmussen, 'Hölle', 449: 'kein zentrales Thema'; Daley, *The Hope*, index s. v. hell.
61 Cf. Y. Christe, *Jugements Derniers* (s. l., s. d. [1999]), 15: 'Le jugement dernier est complètement absent du répertoire chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité'.
62 For the most recent surveys see E. Koch, 'Fegfeuer', *TRE* 11 (1983), 69–78; P. Miquel, 'Purgatoire', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité . . .* 12. 2 (Paris, 1986), 2652–66.
63 J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Chicago and London, 1983) = *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981).
64 Le Goff, *Birth*, 37–8 = *Naissance*, 59.
65 Cf. W. C. van Unnik, 'The "Wise Fire" in a Gnostic Eschatological Vision', in P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann (eds), *Kyriakon*, 2 vols (Münster, 1970), I. 277–88.
66 As is persuasively argued by Hill, *Regnum Caelorum*, 187f.
67 In addition to Le Goff, *Birth*, 46–51 = *Naissance*, 70–7, see now B. Rotach, 'Der Durst der Toten und die zwischenzeitliche Erquickung (Refrigerium interim)', in Jezler, *Himmel*, 33–40.
68 For the term see H. Finé, *Die Terminologie der Jenseitsvorstellungen bei Tertullian* (Bonn, 1958), 150–96; E. Löfstedt, *Late Latin* (Oslo and London, 1959), 79ff; C. Mohrmann, *Etudes sur le latin des chrétiens*, 4 vols (Rome, 1961–77), II. 81–91; Sanders, *Licht en duisternis* II, 435–45; Janssens, *Vita e morte*, 285–93.
69 Cf. J. H. Waszink, *Tertulliani de anima* (Amsterdam, 1947), 593.
70 Cf. 3. 4, 9. 1 and 16. 3–4. Even in 13. 5, where the angels say '*sinite illos refrigerent*', the word seems to be hardly eschatologically marked.
71 Bremmer, 'The Novel and the Apocryphal Acts', in H. Hofmann and M. Zimmerman (eds), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* IX (Groningen, 1998), 157–80 at 175f.
72 Note that after Constantine the categories of intercessors become much wider and even children can now intercede for their parents: Février, *Méditerranée* I. 257–77, 338–9; Janssens, *Vita e morte*, 293–302.
73 Bauckham, *Fate of the Dead*, 136–48.
74 Cf. W. Rordorf, *Liturgie, foi et vie des premiers Chrétiens* (Paris, 1986), 405–18.
75 Many examples in *L'inhumation privilégiée du IV^e^ au VIII^e^ siècle en Occident* (Paris, 1986); Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints, corps et âme. L'inhumation "ad sanctos" dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du III^e^ au VII^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1988); P. Maraval, *La passion inédite de S. Athénogène de Pédachthoé en Cappadoce (BHG 197b)*, (Brussels, 1990), 77; Janssens, *Vita e morte*, 243–9; S. Scholz, 'Das Grab in der Kirche', *ZRG Kan*. 84 (1998), 270–306.
76 As was already argued by G. Anrich, 'Clemens und Origenes als Begründer der Lehre vom Fegfeuer', in *Theologische Abhandlungen für H. J. Holtzmann* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1902), 95–120. His picture of Origen's views is too schematic, however, cf. Crouzel, *Les Fins dernières*, Ch. II ('L'exégèse origénienne de I Cor 3, 11–15 et la purification eschatologique').

77 E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis Buch VI* (Leipzig, 1927³), 20–3, who drops Posidonius in the 'Nachträge' to the third edition (459–60).

78 Le Goff, *Birth*, 53 = *Naissance*, 80, who totally confuses here the relations between Pythagoreanism, Orphism and Plato.

79 For the history of the ideas leading up to the 'birth' of purgatory see M. P. Ciccarese, 'Le più antiche rappresentazzioni del purgatorio, dalla "Passio Perpetuae" alla fine del IX sec.', *Romanobarbarica* 7 (1982–3), 33–76; R. R. Atwell, 'From Augustine to Gregory the Great. An Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory', *J. Eccl. Hist.* 38 (1987), 173–86.

80 Le Goff's presentation of Augustine's views is not without flaws, see G. R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: "Birth" or Evolution?', *J. Eccl. Hist*. 36 (1985), 634–46.

81 G. Cracco, 'Gregorio e l'Oltretomba', in J. Fontaine *et al.* (eds), *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1986), 255–66.

82 But note that the sixth-century African Verecundus located the purifying fire 'at the gates of Paradise', cf. C. Magazzù, 'L'*ignis purgatorius* in Verecondo di Junca ovvero l'interpretazione di *Deuteronomio* 32, 22 da Origene agli esegeti medievali', *Studi tardoantichi* 9 (1990), 337–46.

83 Le Goff, *Birth*, 209–34 = *Naissance*, 283–316

84 See especially the reviews by R. W. Southern, *Times Lit. Suppl.* 18 June 1982, 651; Ph. Ariès, *Annales ESC* 38 (1983), 151–7; A. J. Gourevitsch, *J. Med. Hist*. 9 (1983), 71–90; L. Genicot and A. H. Bredero, *Rev. d'Hist. Eccl*. 78 (1983), 421–6, 429–52, respectively; A. Bernstein, *Speculum* 59 (1984), 179–83; M. de Jong, *Volkskundig Bulletin* 10 (1984), 126–39; J.-P. Massaut, *Le Moyen Age* 1985, 75–86; A. Angenendt, *Theol. Revue* 82 (1986), 38–41; P. Dinzelbacher, *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 61 (1987), 278–82. These reviews, in particular those by Genicot and Bredero, demonstrate that Le Goff's observations on the appearance of the noun *purgatorium* around 1170 have to be corrected. Genicot also refutes the importance attached to Paris as the centre of innovation by Le Goff, *Birth*, 238–9 = *Naissance*, 321–2.

85 The best plates are still in R. Willis, *The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury* (London, 1869), Appendix IX. I am grateful to Giles Constable for bringing them to my attention.

86 R. Easting, 'Purgatory and the Earthly Paradise in the *Tractatus de purgatorio Sancti Patricii*', *Cîteaux* 37 (1986), 23–48.

87 Scholasticism and monasticism: Bredero (n. 84); J. G. Bougerol, 'Autour de "La Naissance du Purgatoire"', *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Môyen Age* 79 (1983), 7–59. Penitence: Angenendt (n. 84); M. Wehrli-Johns, '"Tuo daz guote und lâ daz übele." Das Fegefeuer als Sozialidee', in Jezler, *Himmel*, 47–58.

88 See most recently M. Hanssler, *Katharismus in Südfrankreich* (Diss. Regensburg, 1991), 14–27; M. Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford, 1998), 19–44.

89 *Contra* A. Borst, *Die Katharer* (Stuttgart, 1953), 240.

90 As is now generally accepted, cf. J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme*, 2 vols (Toulouse, 1976–79), I. 302–4; A. Patschovsky, 'Der Ketzer als Teufelsdiener', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1991), 317–34 at 331–2; Lambert, *Cathars*, 43f. Actually, this was already seen by F. Vernet, 'Cathares', in *Dict. Théol. Cath*. II. 2 (Paris, 1923), 1987–99 at 1987;

91 See Ekbert's *Sermones contra Catharos* 2. 2: *Si vos estis Ecclesia Dei, ut dicitis* (*PL* 195, 19). For an English translation of some of his passages on Catharism see R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975), 88–94.

92 See his *Sermones contra Catharos*, Prologue and *Sermo* 1: *hi sunt quos vulgo Catharos vocant* (*PL* 195, 14). *Contra* Lambert, *Cathars*, 43f. Note that H. Fichtenau, *Heretics and Scholars in the High Middle Ages, 1000–1200*, tr. D. A. Kaiser (University Park, PA, 1998), 87–8, suggests that the name Cathar derives from a 'German word that sounds similar', but no such word has been discovered.

93 H. J. Vogt, *Coetus sanctorum; der Kirchenbegriff des Novatian und die Geschichte seiner Sonderkirche* (Bonn, 1968); H. Gülzow, *Cyprian und Novatian* (Tübingen, 1975); J. S. Alexander, 'Novatian/Novatianer', *TRE* 24 (1994), 678–82; *Thesaurus Novatiani* (Turnhout, 1999).

94 Vernet, 'Cathares', 1987; add Hier. *Os*. 3. 14. 1; Rufinus, *Hist. Eus*. 6. 43, 10. 6; *Oecumenical Council of Constantinople* (AD 382), canon 7.

95 Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres* 2. 58, ed. D. Zimpel (Frankfurt/M, 1996).

96 Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque* 4. 15, ed. B. Paulus (Turnhout, 1988).

97 Humbertus Cardinalis, *Libri tres adversus simoniacos* 1. 2, ed. E. G. Robison, 2 vols (Diss. Princeton University, 1972).

98 Petrus Damianus, *Liber qui appellatur gratissimus* 22 (*PL* 145, 133), *De sacramentis per improbos administratis* 4 (*PL* 145, 530); *Epistulae* 1. 40, 3. 146, ed. K. Reindel, 4 vols (Munich, 1983–93).

99 Landulfus, 'Epistula ystoriographi', in his *Mediolanensis historiae libri quatuor*, ed. A. Cutolo (Bologna, 1942), 4.

100 Bernaldus, *De vitandi excommunicatorum communione* (*PL* 148, 1189), *Tractatus de reordinatione vitanda* 8 (*PL* 148, 1257).

101 Ivo Carnotensis, *Decretum*, Prologue and VI. 350 (*PL* 161, 53 and 517), and *Panormia*, Prologue 20 (*PL* 161, 1043).

102 Gratianus, *Decretum*, Pars 2, Causa 24, Quaest. 3, Canon 39 (*PL* 191, 1312–13).

103 Petrus Lombardus, *Commentarius in psalmos Davidicos* (*PL* 191, 257).

104 Arrians: R. Manselli, *Studi sulle eresie del secolo XII* (Rome, 1975[2]), 237–46 ('Una designazione dell'eresia catara: "Arriana Heresis"'); G. Rottenwöhrer, *Der Katharismus* III (Bad Honnef, 1990), 440–51. Manichaeans: C. Mews, 'An excerpt from Guibert of Nogent's *Monodiae* (III, 17), appended to Augustine's *De haeresibus*', *Rev. Et. Aug*. 33 (1987), 113–27.

105 E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols (Paris, 1717; repr. New York, 1968), V. 1705–53 (Georgius, *Disputatio inter Catholicum et Paterinum haereticum*) at 1714.

106 Alanus ab Insulis (d. 1203), *De fide Catholica contra haereticos sui temporis praesertim Albigenses* (*PL* 210, 306–430 at 366). Sexual misbehaviour was also associated with another name for the Cathars, Bulgari, after the country that was known for its dualistic heresies: it is this tradition that eventually gave rise to the English term of contempt 'bugger', cf. M. Zerner, 'Du court moment ou on appela les hérétiques des "bougres". Et quelque déductions', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 32 (1989), 305–24.

107 M. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Oxford, 1992[2]), 55–61, 122–3 (stories).

108 For Cathar ideas of the soul see R. van den Broek, 'The Cathars Medieval Gnostics?', in *idem* and W. Hanegraaff (eds), *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Albany, 1998), 87–108. For medieval ideas on the soul in general see most recently L. Nauta, 'The Preexistence of the Soul in Medieval Thought', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 63 (1996), 93–135; C. Casagrande and S. Vecchio (eds), Anima *e* corpo *nella cultura medievale* (Tavarnuzze, 1999).

109 Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même* II, 345–80; I. Tolomio, '"Corpus carcer" nell' Alto Medioevo. Metamorfosi di un concetto', in Casagrande and Vecchio, Anima *e* corpo, 3–19.

110 For Cathar reincarnation see now J. Paul, 'Des fins dernières dans les doctrines cathares', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 33 (1998), 159–96. The origin of the Cathar ideas about reincarnation remains obscure, but they do not seem to have been connected with Pythagoras (Ch. II. 1), whose ideas about reincarnation were well known in the Western Middle Ages, cf. W. Maaz, 'Metempsychotica mediaevalia. Pictagoras

redivivus', in J. Holzhausen (ed.), *Psychê–Seele–anima. Festschrift für Karin Alt* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 385–416.

111 J. Duvernoy, *Le registre d'Inquisition de Jacques Fournier, 1318–1325*, 3 vols (Toulouse, 1965), I. 191–207, 228, 283–4, 472–3; II. 408; III. 252; R. Manselli, 'Eglises et théologies cathares', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 3 (1968), 128–76 at 142.

112 P. Galtier, *L'église et la rémission des péchés aux premiers siècles* (Paris, 1932), 22–70; C. Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence dans l'église ancienne* (Paris, 1966), 1–20, and various studies collected in his *En rémission des péchés*, ed. A. Faivre (Aldershot, 1994).

113 E. Rebillard, *In hora mortis: Evolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles dans l'Occident* (Rome, 1994); three overlapping studies by P. Brown: 'Vers la naissance du purgatoire. Amnistie et pénitence dans le christianisme occidental de l'Antiquité-tardive au Haut Moyen Age', *Annales* 52 (1997), 1247–61; '*Gloriosus Obitus*: The End of the Ancient Other World', in W. Klingshirn and M. Vessey (eds), *The Limits of Ancient Christianity* (Ann Arbor, 1999), 289–314 and 'The Decline of the Empire of God: Amnesty, Penance, and the Afterlife from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages', in C. W. Bynum and O. Freedman (eds), *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2000), 41–59.

114 G. Rottenwöhrer, *Der Katharismus* II. 1 (Bad Honnef, 1982), 145–341 (fullest study); Lambert, *Medieval Heresy*, 124, 142 (scoring); A. Brenon, 'Les fonctions sacramentelles du consolament', *Hérésis* 20 (1993), 33–55; M. Ohst, *Pflichtbeichte* (Tübingen, 1995), 171–3.

115 J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, *Sancti Bernardi Opera* 6. 1 (Rome, 1970), 259: *Tria sunt loca, quae mortuorum animae pro diversis meritis sortiuntur: infernus, purgatorium, caelum In inferno impii, in purgatorio purgandi, in caelo perfecti*; J. Morson *et al.*, *Guerric d'Igny, Sermons*, 2 vols (Paris, 1973), II. 18: *tantam ignium materiam hinc nobiscum portamus cum examen illius purgatorii tales intraverimus*.

116 See now also C. Auffarth, *Geradewegs in den Himmel? Religionswissenschaftliche Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 2001), 152–99.

117 R. Ombres, 'Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230–1439', *J. Eccl. Hist*. 35 (1984), 1–14.

118 K. U. Tremp, 'Waldenser und Wiedergänger. Das Fegefeuer im Inquisitionsregister des Bischofs Jacques Fournier von Pamiers (1317–1326)', in Jezler, *Himmel*, 125–34. For the efforts of Inquisition and Church to impose the doctrine see also M. Fournié, 'Les prêtres du Purgatoire (XIV^e^-XV^e^ siècles)', *Etudes Rurales* 105–06 (1987), 93–121; M.-A. Polo de Beaulieu, 'Receuils du Purgatoire', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 26 (1991), 257–78.

119 For heaven as the place where God lives and its Old Testament background see H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen, 1951); A. Lumpe and H. Bietenhard, 'Himmel', *RAC* 15 (1991), 173–212; C. Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament* (Leiden, 1993); J. B. Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton, 1997); J. E. Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (New York, 2000); B. Lang and C. McDannell, *Heaven. A History* (New Haven and London, 2001[2]).

120 Jewish Apocalypses, in particular, such as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, will have been of influence on the author of *Revelation* as is argued for *2 Baruch* by P.-M. Bogaert, 'Les Apocalypses contemporaines de Baruch, d'Esdras et de Jean', in J. Lambrecht (ed.), *L'Apocalypse johannique et L'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (Leuven, 1980), 47–68; see also K. Hruby, 'L'influence des Apocalypses sur l'eschatologie judéo-chrétienne', *L'Orient syrien* 11 (1966), 291–320.

121 J. B. Frey, 'La vie dans l'au-delà dans les conceptions juives au temps de Jésus-Christ', *Biblica* 12 (1932), 128–68; H. Cavallin, 'Leben nach dem Tode im Spätjudentum und im frühen Christentum, I: Spätjudentum', *ANRW* II. 19. 1 (Berlin and New York,

1979), 240–345; P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs* (Kampen, 1991), 114–26; L. V. Rutgers, *The Hidden Heritage of Diaspora Judaism* (Leuven, 1998), 157–68; Avery-Peck and Neusner, *Judaism in Late Antiquity IV: Life-After-Death, Resurrection and The World-to-Come*; J. S. Park, *Conceptions of Afterlife in Jewish Inscriptions* (Tübingen, 2000).

122 Crouzel, *Les Fins dernières*, Ch. X. 325 and 'Ciel, purgatoire et jugement, enfer, dans les premiers siècles de l'église', in *Le Jugement, le ciel et l'enfer dans l'histoire du christianisme* (Angers, 1989), 9–17 notes the connection between Origen's thoughts about the hereafter and anti-Marcionite polemics.

123 This chapter has profited from lectures at Debrecen (1995), Loyola College (2000), and, especially, Giles Constable's Medieval Group at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (2000). A shorter version appeared as 'The Passion of Perpetua and the Development of Early Christian Afterlife', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 54 (2000), 97–111. I am grateful to Patricia Crone, Giles Constable, Susanna Elm, Tom Gallanis, Stephen Harrison, Ton Hilhorst, Constant Mews, and Eric Rebillard for suggestions. Scott Bruce thoughtfully corrected my English.

6 ANCIENT NECROMANCY AND MODERN SPIRITUALISM

1 For ancient necromancy see Th. Hopfner, *Griechisch-Ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden* (Leipzig, 1924), 148–63; *idem*, 'Nekromantie', *RE* 16 (Stuttgart, 1935), 2218–34; F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua* (Paris, 1949), 96–108; E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford, 1973), 207f.

2 For some preliminary observations see Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress*, 208f.

3 See most recently C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford, 1995), 75; G. Danek, *Epos und Zitat. Studien zu den Quellen der Odyssee* (Vienna, 1998), 214–20.

4 There is a very good description of these rivers in J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* II (London, 1913[2]), 160–2.

5 Hes. fr. 280 (?), M.-W.; Plut. *Thes*. 34. 1; Paus. 1. 17. 4; J. G. Frazer on Apollodorus 2. 5. 12.

6 This is well argued by Danek, *Epos und Zitat*, 220f.

7 S. Eitrem, 'The Necromancy in the Persai of Aischylos', *Symb. Osl*. 6 (1928), 1–16.

8 I find it therefore difficult to follow F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA, 1997), 28, when he sees an actual *goês*, 'sorcerer', in these cries.

9 Drinks: see the seminal study by F. Graf, 'Milch, Honig und Wein', in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980), 209–21; add Bremmer, *Arethusa* 13 (1980), 295 n. 49 and *ZPE* 39 (1980), 32f. Colours: P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), 187–91.

10 G. Steiner, 'Die Unterweltbeschwörung des Odysseus im Lichte hethitischer Texte', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 3 (1971), 265–83; M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997), 426f.

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13 Xen. *Anab*. 6. 2. 2; Pliny, *NH* 27. 4; Plut. *Mor*. 555C, *Cimon* 6; Pomp. Mela 1. 103; Schol. Lycophron 411; *Arch. Anz*. 1962–63, 590–2.

14 Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 134a; Strabo 1. 2. 18; Plut. *Mor.* 109C (probably); Max. Tyr. 8. 2b; (?), Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2. 11; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* 6. 107; J. Rusten, *ZPE* 45 (1982), 33–8; S. Radt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1983), III. 370f.

15 H. Lloyd-Jones and N. G. Wilson, *Sophoclea* (Oxford, 1990), 144; A. Henrichs, 'Between Country and City: Cultic Dimensions of Dionysus in Athens and Attica', in M. Griffith and D. Mastronarde (eds), *Cabinet of the Muses* (Atlanta, 1990), 257–77 at 264–9; G. Casadio, 'Dioniso Italiota: un dio greco in Italia meridionale', *AION* 16 (1994), 79–107.

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19 Pausanias: Aristodemus FGrH 104 F 1; Plut. *Mor.* 555C and 560EF, *Cimon* 8, fr. 126 Sandbach; Paus. 3. 17. 8f. Abroad: Schol. Pi. *Pyth.* 4. 281. Note also Max. Tyr. 8. 2b: the visitor of Cumae called up the soul 'of fathers or friends'.

20 Paus. 9. 30. 6. All information about the Thesprotian oracle derives from S. Dakaris, *The Acheron Necromanteion: Ephyra-Pandosia-Cassope* (Athens, n. d.), but note also F. T. van Straten, 'Twee orakels in Epirus', *Lampas* 15 (1982), 195–230. For a different interpretation of the building see D. Baatz, 'Hellenistische Katapulte aus Ephyra (Epirus)', *Athen. Mitt.* 97 (1982), 211–33.

21 Luc. *Men.* 7, 22; Paus. 9. 39. 4–14 (Trophonius); R. J. Clark, 'Trophonios: the Manner of his Revelation', *TAPA* 99 (1968), 63–75; P. and M. Bonnechere, 'Trophonios à Lébadée', *Les Et. Class.* 57 (1989), 289–302.

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23 Max. Tyr. 8. 2b (Cumae); Paus. 3. 17. 9 (Phigaleia); Phryn. *Praep. soph.* 127,12.

24 Hermai: Paus. 9. 39. 7. Clothes: Max. Tyr. 14. 2; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 3. 2; Paus. 9. 39. 8; Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* 8. 19.

25 As is suggested by Van Straten, 'Twee orakels', 224. Heaps: Cornutus 16; W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983), 165.

26 Theodoretus, *Graec. aff. cur.* 10. 3 stresses the darkness of the caves.

27 A. R. and M. Burn, *The Living Past of Greece* (Boston and Toronto, 1980), 234.

28 Eleusis: Burkert, *Homo necans*, 276. Magicians: Hippol. *Ref.* 4. 35. 1–2.

29 Thuc. 1. 134; Plut. *Mor.* 560F, fr. 126 Sandbach.

30 Note also the necromancy in Eur. fr. 912 Nauck^{2}.

31 See the recent re-edition by A.-Ph. Christides *et al.*, 'Magic in the Oracular Tablets of Dodona', in D. R. Jordan *et al.* (eds), *The World of Ancient Magic* (Bergen, 1999), 67–71 at 71.

32 Gellius 16. 7. 12, 20. 6. 6.

33 Varro, *Curio de cultu deorum*, fr. 4 Cardauns (= Aug, *Civ. dei* 7. 35), cf. B. Cardauns, *Varros Logistoricus über die Götterverehrung* (Würzburg, 1960), 32f.

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253–4, *M*. 7. 206; L. Fahz, *De poetarum romanorum doctrina magica* (Giessen, 1904), 4–15; W. Fauth, *Carmen magicum* (Frankfurt, 1999), 81–102.

35 Cic. *Div*. 1. 132, *Tusc*. 1. 37, *in Vat*. 14.

36 Magic, necromancy and Persian magi: Strabo 16. 2. 39; Pliny, *NH* 30. 8. 14; Lucian, *Men*. 6; Iamblichos, *Babyloniaka* apud Photius 94. 75b16; J. Alvares, 'A Hidden Magus in Chariton's "Chaireas and Callirhoe"', *Hermes* 128 (2000), 383f. Ostanes: A. Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei* (Giessen, 1908), 251.

37 See the detailed commentary by K. Töchterle, *Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Oedipus* (Heidelberg, 1994), *ad loc*.

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39 For a detailed discussion see Stramaglia, *Res inauditae*, 390–8.

40 W. Fauth, 'Die Bedeutung der Nekromantieszene in Lucans Pharsalia', *RhM* 118 (1975), 325–44; L. Moscadi, 'Osservazioni sull'episodio magico del VI libro della Farsaglia di Lucano', *SIFC* 48 (1976), 140–99; R. Gordon, 'Lucan's Erictho', in M. Whitby *et al*. (eds), *Homo viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol, 1987), 231–41; M. Korenjak, *Die Ericthoszene in Lukans Pharsalia* (Frankfurt, 1996); Graf, *Magic*, 190–4, 200–4.

41 J. H. Waszink, *Tertullianus, De anima* (Amsterdam, 1947), 565–7.

42 Gordon, 'Lucan's Erictho', 241.

43 M. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1990^2), I. 256–8.

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46 Thessalus, *De virtutibus herbarum* 1. 13f.

47 Apul. *Met*. 2. 29, cf. A. Stramaglia, 'Aspetti di letteratura fantastica in Apuleio. *Zatchlas Aegyptius propheta primarius* e la scena di necromanzia nella novella di Telifrone (*Met*. II, 27–30)', *Annali della Facoltà (Bari), di Lettere e Filosofia* 33 (1990), 159–220; note also *Met*. 1. 8.

48 From the same period probably derives Suda ψ 157 with directions as to how to find the area where the corpses are; note also Vettius Valens 2. 12.

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50 West, *East Face of Helicon*, 550–2.

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61 K. Preisendanz, 'Nekydaimon', *RE* 16 (Stuttgart, 1935), 2239–66; J. H. Waszink, 'Biothanati', *RAC* 2 (Stuttgart, 1954), 391–4.

62 B. Shaw, 'The Cultural Meaning of Death: Age and Gender in the Roman Family', in D. Kertzer and R. Saller (eds), *The Family in Italy* (New Haven and London, 1991), 66–90; see also L. F. Pizolato, *Morir giovani. Il pensiero antico di fronte allo scandalo della morte prematura* (Milan, 1996).

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7 NEAR-DEATH EXPERIENCES: ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

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13 M. van Uytfanghe, 'Les Visiones du très haut Moyen Âge et les récentes "expériences de mort temporaire". Sens ou non-sens d'une comparaison I, II', in M. van Uytfanghe and R. Demeulenaere (eds), *Aevum inter utrumque. Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders, professeur émérité à l'Université de Gand* (Steenbrugge and The Hague, 1991), 447–81 and *Sacris Erudiri* 33 (1992–3), 135–82, respectively.

14 For souls visiting the next world see now C. Colpe and P. Habermehl, 'Jenseitsreise', *RA*C 17 (Stuttgart, 1995), 490–543.

15 Cleonymus, Thespesius and Curma had already been noticed by E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2 vols (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1898^2), II. 363f.

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17 For a comparison of these three myths, see J. Annas, 'Plato's Myths of Judgement', *Phronesis* 27 (1982), 119–43.

18 S. R. Slings, *Plato's Apology of Socrates* (Leiden, 1994), 217. The model was imitated by Cicero with his *Somnium Scipionis* in his *De re publica* and by Vergil in his *Aeneid* VI.

19 Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2. 16; see also Clement Alex. *Strom*. 5. 103. 4; Eusebius, *Praep. Ev*. 11. 35; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 22. 28; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentary on John* 7 (= *Patrologia Graeca* 76, 881C).

20 J. Russell, 'The Platonic Myth of Er, Armenian Ara, and Iranian Arday Wiraz', *Revue Et. Arméniennes* 18 (1984), 477–85.

21 For this and other examples, see G. Herman, 'Nikias, Epimenides and the Question of Omissions in Thucydides', *CQ* 39 (1989), 83–93.

22 He remains the singer par excellence, since the 'swan's song' was already famous in antiquity, cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, 'Le chant du cygne d'Antigone', in A. Machin and L. Pernée (eds), *Sophocle: le texte, les personnages* (Aix-en-Provence, 1993), 285–97.

23 The visitors to the oracle of Trophonius (Ch. VI. 1), had to drink the 'so-called water of Forgetfullness' before their enquiry and afterwards the 'water of Memory' (Paus. 9. 39. 8; see also Pliny, *NH* 31. 15). Was this under Platonic or Orphic influence?

24 Chasms: Hes. *Theog*. 740. Tartarus: Ch. I. 2.

25 *Od*. 11. 568–71; Pi. *O*. 2. 75–6, *Isth.* 8. 23–4; J. Bažant, *LIMC* VI. 1 (1992), s. v. Minos, no. 33; J. Boardman, *LIMC* I. 1 (1981), s. v. Aiakos, no. 1–3; M. Xagorari, *LIMC* VII. 1 (1994), s. v. Rhadamanthys, no. 1–6.

26 See also Aesch. F. 281a. 21–3 Radt; PCG Adespota F 921 K.-A.; Plautus, *Rudens*, 15; criticised by Eur. fr. 506 Nauck[2]; G. F. Nieddu, 'La metafora della memoria come scrittura e l'immagine dell'animo come deltos', *Quaderni di Storia* 19 (1984), 213–9. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helikon* (Oxford, 1997), 561–2 unnecessarily assumes an origin in the Near East.

27 See also Pl. *Grg.* 523e-524a; Dem. 18. 127.

28 For such Eleusinian influence, see F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 79–150; add now the Orphic Gold Leaf mentioned in Ch. II n. 6.

29 See also Pl. *Phaedo*, 107d, *Phaedr*. 249a, *Ep*. 7,335a; Graf, *Eleusis*, 121–6; F. Hoffmann, 'Seilflechter in der Unterwelt', *ZPE* 100 (1994), 339–46; R. Merkelbach, 'Die goldenen Totenpässe: ägyptisch, orphisch, bakchisch', *ZPE* 128 (1999), 1–13 at 1–6.

30 Note that in this fragment we find sunlight during the night, roses, and a special fragrance: elements reminding us of the visions of Perpetua and Saturus (Ch. V. 2); for the text see now also F. Vendruscolo, 'Pindaro, Threnoi fr. 129, 10–11 Snell-Maehler', *ZPE* 101 (1994), 16–18.

31 *Contra* E. R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959), 375. Cf. *OF* 222, 293 Kern; G. Soury, 'La vie de l'au-delà. Prairies et gouffres', *R. Et. Anc.* 46 (1944), 169–78; A. Motte, *Prairies et jardins de la Gréce antique* (Brussels, 1973), 233–79; Graf, *Eleusis*, 90–1 (add Soph. F 891 Radt).

32 Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias*, 303 suggests a Pythagorean background to the River of Forgetfulness on the basis of the Pythagorean extolling of memory. Given the closeness of the Orphics to Pythagoreanism (Ch. II. 2), this may well be correct. Older influences cannot be excluded either: for a possibly Indo-European background see B. Lincoln, *Death, War, and Sacrifice* (Chicago and London, 1991), 49–61.

33 Road: Arist. *Cael.* 284b6ff, fr. 200 Rose[3]; W. Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 365. Music: Burkert, *Lore and Science*, 350–68; L. Zhmud, *Wissenschaft, Philosophie und Religion im frühen Pythagoreismus* (Berlin, 1997), 218–25. Astronomy: V. Kalfas, 'Plato's "Real Astronomy" and the Myth of Er', *Elenchos* 17 (1996), 5–20.

34 Pl. *Phaedo*, 113d, *Phaedr*. 248c, *Grg*. 525bc.

35 Pi. *O*. 2. 61–71, fr. 129 Maehler; Graf, *Eleusis*, 85–7.

36 M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell* (Philadelphia, 1983); R. Bauckham, *The Fate of the Dead* (Leiden, 1998), passim; Ch. V. 2.

37 The description is based on the geography of the underworld in Plato's *Phaedo*, which in turn is based on the geography of Sicily, as is well argued by P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery, and Magic* (Oxford, 1995), 79–87.

38 Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam*, II. 113–5 Kroll.

39 For the vision, see J. D. P. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford, 1962), 150.

40 Moving upwards: probably from Pl. *Phaedo*, 109de; similarly, Timarchus in Plut. *Mor*. 590C. Stars: Pl. *Phaedo*, 109a, also followed by Cicero, *Somn. Scip*. 3. 7. Crying: Pl. *Grg*. 624d, *Rep*. 10. 611c.

41 Similarly, Plut. fr. 178 Sandbach; Pl. *Phaedo*, 108bc; DL 8. 31 (Pythagoreans).

42 I follow the correction proposed by O. Masson in his onomastic comment in the Budé edition *ad loc*.

43 Elsewhere (*Mor.* 300C), Plutarch attributes this belief to the Pythagoreans. For the absence of a shadow, see also P. W. van der Horst and G. Mussies, *Studies on the Hellenistic Background of the New Testament* (Utrecht, 1990), 153–63 (by Van der Horst).

44 For Bacchic grottoes, see Philodamus, *Paean to Dionysus*, 140 Käppel; Socrates of Rhodes *apud* Athen. 148b; Philostr. *Im*. 1. 14; Macr. *Sat*. 1. 18. 3; P. Boyancé, 'L'antre dans les mystères de Dionysos', *Rend. Pont. Acc*. 33 (1960–61), 107–12; J. M. Paillier, *Bacchus: figures et pouvoirs* (Paris, 1995), 59–77.

45 Another echo from the *Phaedo* (83d).

46 For Plutarch's not wholly unfavourable view of Nero, see C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971), 18–19; F. E. Brenk, *Relighting the Souls* (Stuttgart, 1998), 82–103 ('From Rex to Rana: Plutarch's Treatment of Nero').

47 For the suddenness, cf. Pl. *Rep*. 10. 515 (*exapinês*).

48 For a more detailed analysis, see G. Ettig, *Acheruntica* (Leipzig, 1891), 322–9.

49 For many other Platonic echoes, see G. Soury, *La démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), 211–27.

50 Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy*, 135–7, thoroughly analyses the Orphic background of the mixing-bowl.

51 Our source Proclus, *In Platonis Rem Publicam*, II. 115 Kroll, says that Naumachius lived 'in the time of our grandfathers'. A.-J. Festugière, *Proclus, Commentaire sur la République*, 3 vols (Paris, 1970), III. 59 n. 2 opts for the middle of the fourth century, but Naumachius' anecdotes surely derive from an earlier period, cf. A. Stramaglia, *Res inauditae, incredulae. Storie di fantasmi nel mondo greco-latino* (Bari, 1999), 65–7.

52 Augustine, *De civitate dei* 22. 28 = *Cornelis Labeo* fr. 7 in the most recent edition by P. Mastandrea, *Un Neoplatonico Latino: Cornelio Labeone* (Leiden, 1979).

53 Pl. *Grg*. 524a, *Phaedo*, 108a; Porphyry, fr. 382 Smith. For its negative value see S. I. Johnston, 'Crossroads', *ZPE* 88 (1991), 217–24.

54 *De cura pro mortuis gerenda* (CSEL 41, 619–60). There is a helpful German translation (by G. Schlachter), with a good introduction and notes (by R. Arbesmann): *Aurelius Augustinus, Die Sorge für die Toten* (Würzburg, 1975). For an English translation see *The Fathers of the Church* 27 (New York, 1955), 347–84.

55 For Augustine's ideas about the hereafter see H. Eger, *Die Eschatologie Augustins* (Greifswald, 1933); M. Dulaey, *Le rêve dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1973), 205–10; C. Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme dans l'au-delà d'après la littérature latine (V^e^-XIII^e^ siècle)*, (Rome, 1994), 14–34.

56 For various observations see also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Berlin, 1962), 419–20, who, rather curiously, believes in the reality of Antyllus' experience, but E. R. Dodds, *The Ancient Concept of Progress* (Oxford, 1973), 174 n. 2 is more realistic.

57 The same anecdote, once again about a smith, is also told by Gregory the Great, *Dial*. 4. 36. For a modern Indian parallel see S. Pasricha and I. Stevenson, 'Near-Death Experiences in India: A Preliminary Report', *J. of Nervous and Mental Disease* 174 (1986), 165–70 at 167.

58 See the lists by H. Fros, 'Visionum medii aevi latini repertorium', in W. Verbeke *et al*. (eds), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 481–98; P. Dinzelbacher, *Revelationes* (Turnhout, 1991), 86–108. In general, see more recently P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1981); E. Gardiner, *Visions of Heaven and Hell before Dante* (New York, 1988). For a bibliography see E. Gardiner, *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook* (New York, 1993).

59 Cf. Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 641, ff. 168v-171v; Otloh von St. Emmeram (*ca*. 1010–1070), *Liber visionum* 19–22, ed. P. G. Schmidt (Weimar, 1989); Paris. lat. 9376, f. 52; BL Harley 4719, ff. 115v-117v, cf. W. Levison, 'Aus englischen Bibliotheken I', *Neues Arch. Gesells. Deutsche Geschichtsk.* 32 (1907), 377–456 at 380–5.

60 Note also its occurrence in Charleville lat. ff. 86–8 and, albeit in a free version, in Helinand of Froidmont (*ca*. 1160–1229), *Chronicon*, in *PL* 212, 771–1082 at 1059–60.

61 For the vision see, in addition to Van Uytfanghe (n. 13), J. Ntedika, 'La pénitence des mourants et l'eschatologie des Pères latins', in *Message et mission* (Louvain and Paris, 1968), 109–27 at 119–26; M. P. Ciccarese, *Visioni dell' aldilà in Occidente* (Florence, 1987), 302–36; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A Historical Commentary*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1988), I. 85–6 (disappointing); Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*, 226–53. I have used the edition by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 488–99.

62 The combination of heat and cold probably derived from Jerome's picture of Gehenna in his *Commentariorum in Matheum libri IV*, ed. E. Bonnard, 2 vols (Paris, 1977–9) on *Matthew* 10. 28 (*Duplicem autem esse gehennam, nimii ignis et frigoris*), and *In Job* 24 (*PL* 26, 685), as Bede was an avid reader of Jerome, cf. Bonnard, 46f. Alternatively, it is also found in Celtic descriptions of the other world, cf. J. Vendryes, 'L'enfer glacé', *Revue Celtique* 46 (1929), 134–42; Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur*, 202–3.

63 Van Uytfanghe, 'Les Visiones I', 464–6.

64 For the ambivalent values of laughter in the Christian Middle Ages see J. Le Goff, 'Laughter in the Middle Ages', in J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Humour* (Cambridge, 1997), 40–53.

65 The motif is probably derived from *Visio Pauli* 32 and 41.

66 In addition to the (sometimes abbreviated), versions in n. 59, see also R. Rau, *Briefe des Bonifatius* (Darmstadt, 1968), no. 30 (different Latin version); K. Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953), 199–224 (Old English version); Van Uytfanghe (n. 13); Ciccarese, *Visioni*, 337–65; Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*, 194–226. I have used the edition by Rau, *Briefe des Bonifatius*, no. 10.

67 At this point Boniface was probably influenced by Gregory, *Dial*. 2. 35 (*omnis etiam mundus . . . collectus ante oculos eius adductus est*), and 4. 7 (*cunctum in suis oculis collectum mundum vidit*), cf. P. Courcelle, 'La postérité chrétienne du Songe de Scipion', *Rev. Et. Lat*. 26 (1958), 205–34 and 'La vision cosmique de saint Benoît', *Rev. Et. Aug*. 13 (1967), 97–117.

68 Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur*, 237. Fursey: M. P. Ciccarese, 'Le visioni di S. Fursa', *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984), 231–302 and *Visioni*, 190–224; Carozzi, *Le voyage de l'âme*, 190–224. Barontus: M. P. Ciccarese, 'La Visio Baronti nella tradizione letteraria delle visioni dell'Aldilà', *Romanobarbarica* 6 (1981–2), 25–52 and *Visioni*, 254; Y. Hen, 'The Structure and Aim of the *Visio Baronti*', *J. Theol. Stud.* 47 (1996), 477–97.

69 As appears from the echoes noted by Ciccarese, *Visioni*, 362–5.

70 Van Uytfanghe, 'Les Visiones I', 461–4.

71 *Contra* Van Uytfanghe, 'Les Visiones II', 156f.

72 For the bridge see the studies by P. Dinzelbacher: *Die Jenseitsbrücke im Mittelalter* (Diss. Vienna, 1973); I. P. Culianu, *Iter in silvis: saggi scelti sulla gnosi e altri studi* (Messina, 1981), 129–140 ('Pons subtilis. Storia e significato di un simbolo'); P. Dinzelbacher, 'Seelenbrücke und Brückenbau im mittelalterlichen England', *Numen* 31 (1984), 242–87 (with H. Kleinschmidt), and 'Il ponte come luogo sacro nella realtà e nell'immaginario', in S. Boesch Gajano and L. Scaraffia (eds), *Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità* (Turin, 1990), 51–60; M. Philonenko, 'Le Pont de l'Abîme', *Cahiers Intern. de Symbolisme* 77–79 (1994), 181–6.

73 For the proximity of heaven and Paradise in the Middle Ages, as well as the walls, see Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur*, 105–7.

74 Van Uytfanghe, 'Les *Visiones* II', 163–9.

75 I closely follow here the views expounded by Peter Brown in his studies mentioned in Ch. 5 n. 113, although he perhaps underestimates the influence of the Greek Archbishop Theodore in Anglo-Saxon England, cf. Th. Charles-Edwards, 'The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*', in M. Lapidge (ed.), *Archbishop Theodore* (Cambridge, 1995), 141–74.

76 E. Rebillard, *In hora mortis: Evolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e^ et V^e^ siècles dans l'Occident* (Rome, 1994), 164.

77 England: A. J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, 1983) = (revised), *La littérature de la pénitence dans l'Angleterre Anglo-Saxonne*, tr. M. Lejeune (Fribourg, 1991). For the Irish penitentials and their reception on the Continent see K. Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), 82–9; R. Kottje, 'Überlieferung und Rezeption der irischen

Bussbucher auf dem Kontinent', in H. Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1982), I. 511–24. See also R. M. J. Means, *Het tripartite boeteboek: overlevering en betekenis van vroegmiddeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften (met editie en vertaling van vier tripartita)*, (Hilversum, 1994).

78 C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (Oxford, 1995), 106–7, 304–7, 311–21.

79 A. Heim, 'Notizen über den Tod durch Absturz', *Jahrbuch des Schweizerischen Alpenclubs* 27 (1892), 327–37, tr. R. Noyes and R. Kletti, 'The Experience of Dying from Falls', *Omega* 3 (1972), 45–52.

80 See the perceptive observations of C. Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric and Proof* (Hanover and London, 1999), 99–100 = *Rapporti di Forza* (Milano, 2000), 119–21 on Flaubert's expression 'the spool of my memory'.

81 G. Groth-Marnat and R. Summers, 'Altered Beliefs, Attitudes, and Behaviors Following Near-Death Experiences', *J. Humanistic Psych*. 38. 3 (1998), 110–25.

82 For comments, information and the revision of my English I am most grateful to Rolf Bremmer, Scott Bruce, Maryna Mews and Eric Rebillard.

APPENDIX 1: WHY DID JESUS' FOLLOWERS CALL THEMSELVES 'CHRISTIANS'?

1 Cf. E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols (London, 1896–1902), II. 1–139; R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London, 1984), 21; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986), 112; K. Hopkins, *A World Full of Gods: Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London, 1999).

2 Cf. R. Grant, *Gods and the One God* (London, 1986), 105–11; J. Roldanus, 'Verdediging of verbastering? Over subversieve elementen in het vroege christendom en de ontkenning daarvan', in *De historie herzien. Vijfde bundel 'Historische avonden' uitgegeven door het Historisch genootschap te Groningen* (Hilversum, 1987), 135–64 at 148–52.

3 L. van Kampen, *Apostelverhalen* (Diss. Utrecht, 1990); Hopkins, *World Full of Gods*, 156–60. It may be asked – but space does not permit an answer – whether the martyrs' love for and dedication to a human Christ was not an important factor in the victory of 'orthodox' Christianity over those Christians with strong docetist interests.

4 For texts, editions and historical value of these *Acta* see p. 57 above. I quote the *Acta* by their main protagonist(s).

5 P. Chiesa, 'Un testo agiografico Africano di Aquileia: Gli *Acta* di Gallonio e dei martiri di Timida Regia' , *Anal. Boll*. 114 (1996), 241–68 at 265 (martyrdom of AD 303–4).

6 The presence of Christ in the martyr can also be found in Tertullian, *Pudicitia*, 22. 6, and in Augustine, cf. J. den Boeft, 'Martyres sunt homines fuerunt', in A. A. R. Bastiaensen *et al*. (eds), *Fructus Centesimus. Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989), 115–24 at 120.

7 For the central place of Christ in the life of the early Christian martyrs see also M. Pellegrino, *Ricerche patristiche*, 2 vols (Turin, 1982), I. 385–425; H. Crouzel, 'L'imitation et la "suite" de Dieu et du Christ dans les premiers siècles chrétiens ainsi que dans leurs sources gréco-romaines et hébraïques', *JAC* 21 (1978), 18–41; V. Saxer, *Pères saints et culte chrétien dans l'église des premiers siècles* (Aldershot, 1994), Ch. VIII ('La professione di fede del martire negli Atti autentici dei primi tre secoli'); Ch. Pietri, *Christiana respublica*, 3 vols (Rome, 1997), II. 1229f.

8 See most recently R. Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History* (Princeton, 1996); Hopkins, *World Full of Gods*.

9 See also K. H. Rengstorf, '*doulos* etc. ', in *Theol. Wtb. z. Neuen Testament* II (Stuttgart, 1935), 264–83 at 276–80; D. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation* (New Haven and London,

1990), 50–85; G. Theissen, *Social Reality and the Early Christians*, tr. M. Kohl (Minneapolis, 1992), 187–201.

10 For the later, very normal, usage, note also P. J. Sijpesteijn, 'Apphus and Pascentius: *servi dei tempore*', *Arch. f. Papyrusf.* 40 (1994), 69f. For the Old Testament background of the Christian usage see J. P. Floss, *Jahweh dienen – Götter dienen* (Cologne, 1975).

11 E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian Religion*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1976–86), III. 148–9 wrongly derives the terminology from Persia where the word 'slave' was used to denote high officers of the king, cf. G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne, 1969), 21–34.

12 A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Zeph Stewart, 2 vols (Oxford, 1972), I. 77; H. W. Pleket, 'Religious History as the History of Mentality: The 'Believer' as Servant of the Deity in the Greek World', in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship* (Leiden, 1981), 152–92.

13 Pleket, 'Religious History'; P. Veyne, 'Une évolution du paganisme gréco-romain: injustice et piété des dieux, leurs ordres ou "oracles"', *Latomus* 45 (1986), 259–83, repr. in his *La société romaine* (Paris, 1991), 281–310; H. S. Versnel, *Ter Unus* (Leiden, 1990), 88–94; St. Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians', in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999), 81–148.

14 Cf. A. Hilhorst, '"Servir Dieu" dans la terminologie du judaïsme hellénistique et des premières générations chrétiennes de langue grecque', in Bastiaensen, *Fructus Centesimus*, 177–92.

15 For the names of the early Christians see A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 1924[3]), 410–45; H. Karpp, 'Christennamen', *RAC* II (1954), 1114–38; A. Ferrua, *Scritti vari di epigrafe e antichità cristiane* (Bari, 1991), 12–25 (on the spelling of *Christianus/-os*, 1933[1]). I have not seen K. H. Kritzer, *Selbstbezeichnungen der Christen in der Frühchristl. Nichtbibl. Literatur des I. Und II. Jhrdts.* (Diss. Salzburg, 1970).

16 E. Peterson, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Freiburg, 1959), 86f.

17 Harnack, *Mission*, 428. He is followed by Karpp, 'Christennamen', 1134, who also notes the connection of the name with Christ. Rather differently, H. Kippenberg, 'Name and Person in Ancient Judaism and Christianity', in H. Kippenberg, Y. Kuiper, A. F. Sanders (eds), *Concepts of Person in Religion and Thought* (Berlin and New York, 1990), 103–24 at 120: '[the name] expressed a self that was not represented adequately by a name which was derived from the surveyable external world. For this a designation was needed that placed the self in a critical relation to the local traditions, and which at the same time was known throughout the Empire.'

18 For some interesting observations on this text note also C. Colpe, *Das Siegel der Propheten* (Berlin, 1990), 81f.

19 Pisoniani have now turned up in the recently discovered *Senatus consultum de Cnaeo Pisone patre* 55, cf. W. Eck *et al.*, *Das senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone patre* (Munich, 1996), 175–7.

20 Bickerman, *Studies* III, 96–9, largely accepted by Peterson, *Frühkirche*, 64–87 and C. Spicq, 'Ce que signifie le titre du chrétien?', *Studia Theologica* 15 (1961), 68–78. Traditional translation: Karpp, 'Christennamen', 1132. Roman authorities: Peterson, *Frühkirche*, 74. For a healthily sceptical approach see W. A. Meeks and R. L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Centuries of the Common Era* (Missoula, 1980), 15f.

21 This translation follows a punctuation which differs from the traditional one, cf. J. den Boeft and J. Bremmer, 'Notiunculae Martyrologicae III', *VigChris* 39 (1985), 110–30 at 111–13.

22 Direct: *Polycarp* 10; *Carpus c. s.* 3. 5, 23, 34; *Justin* 3. 4, 4 passim; *Lyons* 19–20, 50; *Scillitani* 9–10, 13; *Apollonius* 2; *Perpetua* 3. 2, 6. 4; *Pionius* 8. 2 and 4, 9. 5 and 7, 15.

7, 16. 2, 18. 6; *Cyprian* 1. 2; *Fructuosus* 2. 3; *Maximilian* 1. 2–3, 2. 6 and 9; *Julius* 1. 3; *Agape* 3. 2 and 7; *Euplus* 1. 1; P. Maraval, *La passion inédite de S. Athénogène de Pédachthoé en Cappadoce (BHG 197b)*, (Brussels, 1990), 75 (martyrdom under Diocletian); Chiesa, 'Un testo agiografico', 265 (martyrdom of Gallonius); A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas, Bishop of Thmuis* (Geneva, 1984), 107 (*ca*. AD 306: Latin version). Indirect: *Ptolemaeus and Lucius* 11, 16; *Lyons* 10, 26, 50; *Potamiaena and Basilides* 5; *Marian and James* 4. 9, 5. 2; *Marinus* 3; *Marcellus* 2. 1; P. van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *Anal. Boll.* 113 (1995), 13–38 (a martyrdom of AD 305). Climax: *Scillitani* 9; *Justin* 3. 4.

23 Cf. Pliny, *Ep*. 96. 2: *interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani*; *Ptolemaeus and Lucius* 10.

24 For examples see J. den Boeft and J. Bremmer, 'Notiunculae Martyrologicae', 35 (1981), 43–56 at 47–8; add the Coptic martyrdom of Coluthus in E. E. A. Reymond and J. W. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford, 1973), 146.

25 G. E. M. de Ste Croix, 'Why were the Early Christians Persecuted?' in M. I. Finley (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Society* (London, 1974), 210–49, 256–62 at 262; P. Brunt, 'Marcus Aurelius and the Christians', in C. Déroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* I (Brussels, 1979), 483–520. See for the problem also Ph. Jobert, 'Les preuves dans les procès contre les chrétiens (I^{er}–IV^{e} siècles)', *Rev. Hist*. 54 (1976), 295–320; J. Walsh and G. Gottlieb, 'Zur Christenfrage im zweiten Jahrhundert', in G. Gottlieb and P. Barceló (eds), *Christen und Heiden in Staat und Gesellschaft des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1992), 3–86; F. Vittinghoff, *Civitas Romana*, ed. W. Eck (Stuttgart, 1994), 322–47 ('"Christianus sum" – das "Verbrechen" von Aussenseitern der römischen Gesellschaft').

26 Brunt, 'Marcus Aurelius', 515, states that the early Christians 'must have appeared pretty worthless to pagans of high rank and education'. It is highly doubtful, though, that many 'lower-class' Christians appeared in front of the magistrates: Justin was a philosopher; Polycarp and Cyprian were clearly wealthy, and Carpus and Dioskoros (*POxy*. 50. 3429), were members of the *boulê*. In fact, many Christians were probably 'middle-class', cf. Th. Schleich, 'Missionsgeschichte und Sozialstruktur des vorkonstantinischen Christentums. Die These von der Unterschichtreligion', *Geschichte, Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 33 (1982), 269–96; W. A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* (New Haven and London, 1983), 51–73; H. W. Pleket, *VigChris* 39 (1985), 192–6; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents illustrating Early Christianity* V (North Ryde NSW, 1989), 111.

27 Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 428.

28 Peterson, *Frühkiche*, 86, makes the same observation without noticing the central place of the formula 'I am a Christian' in the martyrs' processes.

29 Papyri: *SB* XVI 12497, cf. P. van Minnen, 'The Roots of Egyptian Christianity', *Arch. f. Papyrusf*. 40 (1994), 71–85 at 74–7 (early third century but before AD 256); *POxy*. 42. 3035 (AD 256); *POxy*. 43. 3119 (AD 259–260?); *PSI* 14. 1412 (later third century?); E. A. Judge and S. R. Pickering, 'Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century', *JAC* 20 (1977), 47–71 at 66–9; G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* II (North Ryde NSW, 1982), 172–4; O. Montevecchi, *Bibbia e papiri. Luce dai papiri sulla bibbia greca* (Barcelona, 1999), 155–72. Inscriptions: the earliest date from Phrygia, although not all datings by Tabbernee are absolutely certain, cf. W. Tabbernee, *Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia* (Macon, 1997), nos 9 (*ca*. AD 210, but E. Gibson, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia* [Missoula, 1978], 98, 107 suggests the fourth century), 10 (before AD 212, but the absence of the *praenomen* Aurelia/us is no absolute guarantee of a pre-212 date), 17 (AD 243), 19 (*ca.* AD 230); for further epigraphical evidence see Tabbernee, *passim*; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Graeca*, 4 vols (Rome, 1967–78), IV. 433–4; Pietri, *Christiana respublica*, III. 1583–1602.

30 Mitchell, 'The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians'.
31 On Decius' persecution see more recently Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 450–60; R. Selinger, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Decius: Anatomie einer Christenverfolgung* (Frankfurt/M, 1994); J. B. Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of Empire', *J. Rom. Stud*. 89 (1999), 135–54.
32 An earlier version of this Appendix appeared as '*Christianus sum*: The Early Christian Martyrs and Christ', in G. J. M. Bartelink *et al*. (eds), *Eulogia: mélanges offerts à Antoon A. R. Bastiaensen à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire* (Steenbrugge and The Hague, 1991), 11–20. I would like to thank Ton Hilhorst, Peter van Minnen and Eric Rebillard for their comments on varying versions of my text.

APPENDIX 2: THE BIRTH OF THE TERM 'PARADISE'

1 The basis of any investigation of the term must now be the rich study of C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart, 1996), 80–131 ('The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire'), to which I am heavily indebted. The implicit enclosure of *Genesis* is made explicit in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 17. 1; *bKetubbot* 77b; *bShabbath* 119b; *Vita Adam* 31. 2, 40. 2.
2 See especially J. Delumeau, *Une histoire du paradis*, 2 vols (Paris, 1992–5) = *History of Paradise: the Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*, tr. M. O'Connell (New York, 1995); Ch. Auffarth, *Geradewegs in den Himmel? Religionswissenschaftliche Studien zur Mittelalterlichen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 2001), 36–72.
3 J. Jeremias, '*paradeisos*', in *Theol. Wth. z. Neuen Testament* V (Stuttgart, 1954), 763–71.
4 For other examples of Iranian *-ae-* into Greek *-ei-* see R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos* (Vienna, 1978), 29.
5 R. Schmitt, 'Der Titel "Satrap"', in A. Morpurgo-Davies and W. Meid (eds), *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to L. R. Palmer* (Innsbruck, 1976), 373–90; J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris, 1983), 98f.
6 P. Lecoq, 'Paradis en vieux-perse?', in F. Vallat (ed.), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990), 209–11.
7 R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 87–90 ('Medisch'); M. Mayrhofer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften*, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1979–96), II. 390–2.
8 D. F. Graf, 'Medism', *J. of Hell. Stud*. 104 (1984), 15–30; C. Tuplin, 'Persians as Medes', in A. Kuhrt and M. Root (eds), *Achaemenid History* 8 (1994), 235–56, who also discusses the occurrence of Medes in other languages (236–8).
9 The short observations by Tuplin, 'Persians as Medes', 252 n. 20 are insufficient, the more so since he does not call attention to the problem of the *Verschriftlichung* of the Median language.
10 For the Persian influence in Babylon see A. Kuhrt, 'Achaemenid Babylonia: Sources and Problems', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History* 4 (Leiden, 1990), 177–94; F. Joannès, 'La situation de la Babylonie dans l'Empire perse', *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997), 279–86.
11 *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 22. 198is (Sippar: early Cyrus), which is perhaps the same as that in J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890), 212 (Sippar: 534 BC); *Yale Oriental Series* 3. 133 (Uruk: 539/526 BC), cf. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 113; M. W. Stolper, *Entrepeneurs and Empire* (Istanbul, 1985), 283 no. 120 (= *CBS* 13039: Nippur: 465/4 BC). For these texts see M. Dandamayev, 'Royal *paradeisoi* in Babylonia', *Acta Iranica* II 9 (Leiden, 1984), 113–17. It is interesting that a country *Pardesu* is mentioned in a late writing exercise (probably *ca*. 85 BC), cf. T. G. Pinches, 'Assyriological Gleanings', *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch*. 18 (1896), 250–7, after p. 256, Plate III, AH 83–1–18, 1866 Reverse Column V. 15–7.

12 For the standard editions see G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948), and 'New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury', *J. Near Eastern Stud.* 24 (1965), 167–92; R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969), and 'Selected Fortification Texts', *Cahiers de la Délégation Française en Iran* 8 (1978), 106–36.

13 H. Koch, 'Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis?', *Zs. f. Assyriologie* 70 (1980), 105–37.

14 W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1987), I. 160; similarly already R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953^2), 195.

15 I summarise here the detailed discussions by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 93–96, 178–82; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, 2 vols (Paris, 1996 = Leiden, 1997), I. 456–8; A. Uchitel, 'Persian Paradise: Agricultural Texts in the Fortification Tablets', *Iranica Antiqua* 32 (1997), 137–44.

16 *Paradeisarios*: Hsch. s. v. *hernokomon*. Syrian: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* II (Oxford, 1901), c. 3240 (*horti custos*); K. Brockelman, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle, 1928), 593b (*horticultor*). Armenian: H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* I (Leipzig, 1897), 229. New Persian: *Shanameh* 3. 1504.

17 R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.* (Oxford, 1980^2), no. 12; *SEG* 36. 1042; R. Schmitt, 'Bemerkungen zu den sog. Gadatas-Brief', *ZPE* 112 (1996), 95–101; Briant, *Histoire* I, 507–9 (function of Gadatas); D. Metzler, 'Bemerkungen zum Brief des Darius an Gadatas', *Topoi* Suppl. 1 (1997), 323–32.

18 Hdt. 7. 27; Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 38; Chares *FGrH* 125 F 2; Amyntas *FGrH* 122 F 6; Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 41; Diod. Sic. 19. 48. 7; Pliny, *NH* 33. 137; Himerius, *Eclogae* 31. 8; Them. *Orat*. 13. 166b, 27. 339a; Photius, *Bibliotheke* 612.

19 Hdt. 7. 31; Ael. *VH* 2. 14.

20 On trees and the Persian king see Briant, *Histoire* II, 244–50 (with interesting illustrations from Persian seals), who also points to the Vulgate version of *Esther* 1. 5 where the feast is celebrated in the court of the *horti et nemoris quod regio cultu et manu consitum erat*. For comparable medieval connections between kings and gardens see Th. Finkenstaedt, 'Der Garten des Königs', in H. Bauer *et al*. (eds), *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen* (Berlin, 1966), 183–209.

21 Thus Briant, *Histoire* I, 433 and many commentaries. However, other possibilities, such as the forests near Jericho, cannot be excluded.

22 Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Geneva, 1989), 22–32; R. Zadok, 'Foreigners and Foreign Linguistic Material in Mesopotamia and Egypt', in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Leuven, 1995), 431–47 at 432f.

23 For the date see A. Robert *et al*., *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1963), 20–22. Admittedly, this is only a reasonable guess, but in any case more persuasive than M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (New York, 1977), 22–33.

24 Clearchus, fr. 44 Wehrli^2 = Athenaeus 12. 540, translated by C. B. Gulick, Loeb, cf. P. Briant, 'Chasses royales macédoniennes et chasses royales perses: le thème de la chasse au lion sur la *Chasse de Vergina*', *Dial. d'Hist. Anc.* 17. 1 (1991), 211–55 at 235 note 45.

25 Clearchus, fr. 43a Wehrli^2 = Athenaeus 12. 515e, translated by C. B. Gulick, Loeb.

26 As is observed by Wehrli *ad loc*. who compares Eusthatius on *Iliad* 16. 702 = Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F 4c.

27 The Macedonian royal Diaries in *FGrH* 117 F 3; Ephippos *FGrH* 126 F 4; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7. 25; for more examples of buildings in *paradeisoi* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 107.

28 D. Wilber, *Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions* (Rutland and Tokyo, 1962); W. L. Hanaway, 'Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature' and R. Pinder-Wilson, 'The Persian Garden: *Bagh* and *Chahar Bagh*', in R. Ettinghausen *et*

al., *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, DC, 1976), 41–67 and 69–85, respectively; E. B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (London, 1979); S. Bianca, *Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt* (Munich, 1991), 108–23; T. S. Kawami, 'Antike persische Gärten', in M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter* (Mainz, 1992), 81–99; A. R. Littlewood, 'Gardens of the Palaces', in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC, 1997), 13–38.

29 C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenistischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Munich, 1998), 123–5, does not offer anything new.

30 Xen. *Oec.* 4. 20–5 (quoted by Cicero, *De senectute* 17. 59), translated by J. Thompson and B. J. Hayes. For Persian presence and influence in Lydia see N. V. Sekunda, 'Achaemenid colonization in Lydia', *R. Et. Anc.* 87 (1985), 7–29; Briant, *Histoire* I, 721–5.

31 See also T. Petit, 'Alcibiade et Tissapherne', *Les Et. Class.* 65 (1997), 137–51.

32 Plut. *Alc.* 24; Diod. Sic. 14. 80. 2 (quote).

33 W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII. 1 (Leiden, 1932), no. I. 1, 15, 16, cf. K. Atkinson, 'A Hellenistic Land-conveyance', *Historia* 21 (1972), 45–74.

34 Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 12; *I. Tralles* 250. 19, cf. R. Descat, 'Le paradis de Tissapherne', *DATA. Achaemenid History Newsletter* 1, April (1992), n. 6. For other toponyms called *Paradeisos* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 99f; add W. Günther, 'Inschriften von Didyma', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 21 (1971), 97–108, no. 1. For an unclear reference note also D. Berges and J. Nollé, *Die Inschriften von Tyana*, 2 vols (Bonn, 2000), I, no. 35.

35 For Persian presence in Greater Phrygia see N. V. Sekunda, 'Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds), *Achaemenid History* 6 (1991), 83–143; Briant, *Histoire* I, 725–7.

36 For Belesys see now M. Stolper, 'The Babylonian Enterprise of Belesys', *Pallas* 43 (1995), 217–38.

37 D. Kaptan-Bayburthuoìglu, 'A Group of Seal-impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion', *Epigr. Anat.* 16 (1990), 15–26; T. Bakir, 'Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleìon', *Pallas* 43 (1995), 268–85. For Persians in the region see N. V. Sekunda, 'Persian Settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia', in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds), *Achaem. Hist.* 3 (1988) 175–96; Briant, *Histoire* I, 718–20.

38 For the possible location of the *paradeisos* see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1963), 348–9 and *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1980), 269; V. Manfredi, *La strade dei diecimila* (Milano, 1986), 37.

39 For these Roman wild parks see F. Olck, 'Gartenbau', *RE* 7 (Stuttgart, 1912), 768–841 at 838; M. Guggisberg, 'Vom Paradeisos zum "Paradies". Jagdmosaiken und Gartenperistyle in der römischen Herrschaftsarchitektur Nordafrikas und Siziliens', *Hefte Arch. Sem. Univ. Berns* 17 (2000), 21–39.

40 As is observed by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 120.

41 So rightly Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111, with more examples.

42 Arr. *An.* 6. 29. 4 = Aristobulus *FGrH* 135 F 51, translated by P. Brunt, Loeb; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 108–12; *idem*, 'The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: Evolution and Legacy', in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck (eds), *Archeologia Iranica et orientalis* (Ghent, 1989), 475–502; *idem*, 'The Garden as a Political Statement: Some Case Studies from the Near East in the First Millennium BC', *Bull. Asia Inst.* NS 4 (1990), 171–82; H. Koch, *Es kündet Dareios der König . . .* (Mainz, 1992), 265–6; Briant, *Histoire* I, 98f.

43 Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110; add Suda, *S* 1681.

44 M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC* (Cambridge, 1997), 124.

45 *I. Cret.* III. IV. 4. 8. For this and similar donations see Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (Munich, 1970^2), 121f, 146 n. 29; Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 61f. For such *temenê* see M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kepos: Der antike griechische Garten*

(Munich, 1989), 34–8; V. Karageorghis and M. Carroll-Spillecke, 'Die heiligen Haine und Gärten Zyperns', in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 141–52.

46 *P. Tebt.* 3. 1. 703. 211f: *tôn basilikôn oikêseôn kai tôn pros tautais paradeisôn*. Note also the *basilikos kêpos* in *PSI* V. 488. 12 (257 BC), and the gift of the Sardian *paradeisoi* by King Antioch (section 2).

47 For the date of the translation of the individual books of the *Septuagint* see M. Hengel, 'Die Septuaginta als "christliche Schriftensammlung", ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons', in M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer (eds), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1994), 182–284 at 236–51.

48 The contrast of *paradeisos* and desert recurs in *P. Lond.* 2043; *UPZ* 114 I 10, II 10, 33, 37.

49 I quote from the English translation of a provisional Italian version in S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge, 1985), 97f. The original text has now been published by E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983), 15ff, to be read with the important corrections by K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Von Elephantine bis Sambehdet', *Enchoria* 12 (1984), 193f.

50 These orchards may continue older Egyptian gardens, cf. C. J. Eyre, 'The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt', *J. Egypt. Arch.* 80 (1994), 57–80. Add to his bibliography of Egyptian gardens (p. 58 n. 7): J.-C. Hugonot, 'Ägyptische Gärten', in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 9–44, who stresses the erotic aspect of the 'Lustgarten'.

51 *PCZ* 59825. 14 mentions a consignment of 10,000 bricks.

52 Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 97–99 (small size), 102 n. 79 (water), 104–5 (trees, word coinages).

53 P. Gentelle, 'Un "paradis" hellénistique en Jordanie: étude de géo-archéologie', *Hérodote* 4 (1981), 69–101; N. and P. Lapp, 'Iraq el-Amir', in E. Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York, 1993), 646–9; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111–12; I. Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces* (Aarhus, 1999^2), 138f.

54 Posidonius *FGrH* 87 F 70; Strabo 16. 2. 41; Pliny, *NH* 12. 111. 7; Josephus, *BJ* 1. 361, 4. 467 and *AJ* 15. 96; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 55–63.

55 F. García Martínez, *Qumran & Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992), 114f.

56 L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (Leiden, 1997), 200–3.

57 For a more detailed discussion see E. J. C. Tigchelaar, 'Eden and Paradise: The Garden Motif in Some Early Jewish Texts (1 Enoch and other texts found at Qumran)', in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted* (Leiden, 1999), 37–62.

58 For *Susanna* see H. Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985); A. de Halleux, 'Une version syriaque révisée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur *Susanne*' and 'Hippolyte en version syriaque', *Le Muséon* 101 (1988), 33–40 and 102 (1989), 19–42, respectively.

59 Theophr. *HP* 4. 5. 6; Pliny, *NH* 12. 71.

60 Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* 104. Trees are also an outstanding feature of Greek utopian gardens: *Odyssey* 1. 51; Hes. *Th.* 216; Simonides 22. 7 West^2; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 16.

61 *Historia Alexandri Magni* (L, ed. Von Thiel), 3. 6. 17, which is translated *paradisus* in Iulius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonii* 3. 17. 526 Rosellini, one of the very few Latin passages where *paradisus* means a profane park.

62 Longus 4. 2–4; Ach. Tat. 1. 15, whose horticultural description is used in Byzantine times, cf. O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna, 1942), 11–21; see also Aristaenetus 1. 3.

63 Scholion on Lucian, *VH* 2. 23. For the practice of purism in Roman times see now C. Charalambakis, 'Zum Sprachverfall in der griechischen Antike', in G. W. Most *et al.* (eds), *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1993), 36–45; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford, 1996), 17–64.

64 Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110 compares Chariton 4. 2. 8 and Heliodorus 7. 23.
65 Hdt. 6. 31. For the method see also *ibid* 3. 149; Plato, *Men.* 240b, *Laws* 3. 698d; App. *Mithr.* 285; Hdn 6. 5. 9ff, cf. K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2 vols (Basel and Stuttgart, 1975), II. 699–729; Briant, *Histoire* I, 310f.
66 *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 65, 298.
67 Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 725.
68 See Olck, 'Gartenbau', 783–7; Carroll-Spillecke, *Kepos*, and 'Griechische Gärten', in *eadem*, *Der Garten*, 153–75; R. Osborne, 'Greek Gardens', in J. D. Hunt (ed.), *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, DC, 1992), 373–91.
69 This is especially true for the meadow, cf. J. M. Bremer, 'The Meadow of Love and Two Passages in Euripides' *Hippolytus*', *Mnemosyne* IV 28 (1975), 268–80; S. R. Slings, in J. M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some Recently Found Greek Poems* (Leiden, 1987), 45; D. L. Cairns, 'The Meadow of Artemis and the Character of the Euripidean *Hippolytus*', *QUSS* 57 (1997), 51–75.
70 For the kingly aspects of Jahweh see now A. M. Schwemer and M. Hengel (eds), *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der Hellenistischen Welt* (Tübingen, 1991).
71 As is observed by C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?), Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher 'Cohortatio ad Graecos')*, 2 vols (Basel and Berlin, 1994), II. 440.
72 *PSI* VIII 917. 5; *P. Mich.* V 282. 3 (the same garden!).
73 W. Sonne, 'Hellenistische Herrschaftsgärten', in W. Hoepfner and G. Brands (eds), *Basileia. Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige* (Mainz, 1996), 136–43.
74 See most recently P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1972), I. 689–94; E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 3 vols (Leiden, 1976–83), I. 167–75; J. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton, 1997^2), 99–106. For the Jewish milieu behind the translation see also A. van der Kooij, 'The City of Alexandria and the Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible', *J. Northwest Semitic Lang.* 25 (1999), 137–49.
75 G. Grimm, 'City Planning?', in P. Green *et al.*, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu, 1996), 55–74; Sonne, 'Hellenistische Herrschaftsgärten', 139–41; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 133f.
76 G. Husson, 'Le paradis de délices (*Genèse* 3, 23–24)', *REG* 101 (1988), 64–73. For the meaning of '*eden* see now J. C. Greenfield, 'A Touch of Eden', *Acta Iranica* II 9 (Leiden, 1984), 219–34.
77 Cf. J. Tondriau, 'La *tryphê*, philosophie royale ptolémaique', *R. Et. Anc.* 50 (1948), 49–54; H. Heinen, 'Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolemaïque', *Ktema* 3 (1978), 177–99 at 188–92; P. Briant, 'Histoire et idéologie. Les Grecs et la "décadence perse"', in M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny (eds), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque* II (Paris, 1989), 33–47; S. Stelluto, 'Il motivo della *tryphê* in Filarco', in I. Gallo (ed.), *Seconda Miscellanea Filologica* (Naples, 1995), 47–84. 'Good life': L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965), 187f.
78 We now know that the lexicon was called *Etymologiai diaphoroi*, cf. A. R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici* II (Berlin and New York, 1995), 846.
79 Cf. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris, 1983^2). Unfortunately, the text is mutilated and was destroyed during the Second World War.
80 W. Bühler, *Gnomon* 42 (1970), 342, had already observed that Latte underestimated Cyril.
81 Cf. E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en Grec* (Paris, 1967), 70–6.
82 Cf. G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985), 7f. For Cyprus in Persian times see J. Wiesehöfer, 'Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft', in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, *Achaemenid History* 4, 239–52; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 9–79; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces*, 61.

83 See most recently J. P. Brown, *Israel and Hellas* III (Berlin and New York, 2001), 138–40.

84 For a first exploration see G. Casadio, 'I paradisi della Sibilla', in I. Chirassi Colombo and T. Seppili (eds), *Sibille e linguaggi oracolari* (Pisa and Rome, 1998), 411–25.

85 Whatever one's views about the precise origin of the oracles, nobody will now follow J. Geffcken, *Die Oracula Sibyllina* (Leipzig, 1902), xix: 'altgriechische Orakel durch verständnislose Judenhände gegangen'.

86 J. Collins, 'The Development of the Sibylline Tradition', *ANRW* II. 20. 1 (Berlin and New York, 1987), 421–59 at 447, followed by H. Merkel, *Sibyllinen* = Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römische Zeit V. 8 (Gütersloh, 1998), 1962. For recent surveys of the extensive literature see E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1998), 269–70; J.-D. Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Darmstadt, 1998), 438f.

87 For Sibylline influence on these Roman poets see C. W. Macleod, *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983), 218–19; R. G. Nisbet, *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995), 48–52, 64–5, 73–4, 163–4.

88 Add 'great' in the 'great king' to the discussion in E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Stuttgart, 1924), 131. For the expression see also J. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula, 1972), 40–4; J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1999), 272–6.

89 A. Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Munich, 1951), 619, followed in the revision of his translation by Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen*, translated *charmê* with 'Kampflust', but J. H. Friedlieb's edition (1852), and Norden, *Geburt*, 57–8 had already the correct 'Freude'.

90 See also Eur. *Bacch*. 710–11; Verg. *Ecl.* 4. 30, *G*. 1. 131–2, 2. 452. 3; Tib. 1. 3. 45; Hor. *Ep*. 16. 47; Ovid, *Am*. 3. 8. 40, *Met*. 1. 112; Pliny, *NH* 11. 59. For honey and the Golden Age see also A. Sallinger *et al*., 'Honig', *RAC* 16 (1994), 433–73 at 446–7.

91 For the Golden Age see especially B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen* (Hildesheim, 1967); most recently, C. Goerdt, 'Der Mythos von der goldenen Zeit und schlechteren Zeiten', *Der altsprachliche Unterricht* 2000, 51–62.

92 *Exodus* 3. 8, 3. 17, 13. 5, 33. 3; *Leviticus* 20. 24; *Numeri* 13. 27, 14. 8, 16. 13–4; *Deut.* 6. 3, 11. 9, 26. 9, 27. 3, 31. 20; *Joshua* 5. 6; *Jeremiah* 11. 5, 32. 22; *Ezekiel* 20. 6, 15. For discussions see most recently B. Stade, 'Ein Land, wo Milch und Honig fliesst', *Zs. Altt. Wiss*. 22 (1959), 321–4; A. Caquot, '*halab*', in *Theol. Wth. z. Alten Testament* II (Stuttgart, 1977), 945–51; C. Grottanelli, *Sette storie bibliche* (Brescia, 1998), 138–45; H. Ausloos, '"A Land Flowing with Milk and Honey": Indicative of a Deuteronomistic Redaction?', *Ephem. Theol. Lov*. 75 (1999), 297–314; M.-J. Pierre, 'Lait et miel, ou la douceur du Verbe', *Apocrypha* 10 (1999), 139–76; E. Levine, 'The Land of Milk and Honey', *J. Study Old Test.* 87 (2000), 43–57 (hardly persuasive).

93 F. Graf, 'Milch, Honig und Wein', in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980), 209–221 at 214–5.

94 Casadio, 'I paradisi', 418.

95 A similar combination also appears in Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 57 Bond. Philostratus, *Im*. 1. 19, *Vit. Soph*. 1. 19, Him. *Or*. 13. 7 and Schol. Lycophron 143, all, directly or indirectly, draw on the miracle in the *Bacchae*.

96 A. Henrichs, 'The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretologies', *HSCP* 88 (1984), 139–58.

97 See F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 335–50; M. C. Caltabiano, *LIMC* VII. 1 (Zürich and Munich, 1994), s. v. Sibylla; M. Fuchs, 'Aurea aetas: Ein glückverheissendes Sibyllinum im grossen Oecus der Villa von Boscoreale', *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 113 (1998), 91–108.

98 Note that Casadio, 'I paradisi', 419 does not mention the text-critical problem at all,

but immediately recognises the 'tre doni essenziali di Bacco', since he has not observed the variations in the various accounts.

99 Verg. *Ecl*. 4. 32–3, Tib. 1. 3. 47, 1. 10. 7.

100 Sen. *NQ* 6. 26. 1; Pliny, *NH* 2. 195; Arist. *Or*. 36. 125; W. Capelle, *RE* Suppl. IV (1924), 357f.

101 A. M. Schwemer, 'Zum Verhältnis von Diatheke und Nomos in den Schriften der jüdischen Diaspora Ägyptens in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit', in F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger (eds), *Bund und Thora* (Tübingen, 1996), 67–109.

102 Norden, *Geburt*, 57f.

103 Pi. fr. 129 Maehler; Ar. *Frogs*, 455; Plut. frr. 178, 211 Sandbach; *Visio Pauli* 21, cf. F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1974), 86.

104 G. Sanders, *Licht en duisternis in de Christelijke grafschriften*, 2 vols (Brussels,1965), II, 826–59; this volume, Ch. 5.2.

105 The discussion in the very useful study by Gatz, *Weltalter*, 171 is unsatisfactory at this point. Norden, *Geburt*, 52 also compares Verg. *Ecl*. 8. 27–8, but these verses are part of a perversion of nature rather than of a picture of a Golden Age.

106 Collins, 'The Development', 447.

107 Cf. Lucr. 5. 1108, 1440; Tib. 1. 3. 43–4, 1. 10. 9; Verg. *Ecl*. 4. 31–3; Ovid, *Am*. 3. 8. 42, *Met*. 1. 97; Sen. *Phaed*. 538f, *Ep.* 90. 41; Juv. 6. 2–3; Iustinus 43. 1. 3. For a possibly Varronian origin of this theme see B. Reischl, *Reflexe griechischer Kulturentstehungslehren bei augusteischen Dichtern* (Munich, 1976), 136f.

108 The word *automatos* occurs in Crates F 17 K.-A.; Cratinus F 172, 363 K.-A.; Metagenes F 6 K.-A.; Pherecrates F 113, 137 K.-A.; Teleclides F 1 K.-A. For recent discussions see H. S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden, 1993), 122–5 (with previous bibliography); P. Ceccarelli, 'L'Athènes de Périclès: un "pays de cocagne"?', *QUCC* 54 (1996), 109–51; M. Pellegrino, 'Metagene', in A. M. Belardinelle *et al.*, *Tessere. Frammenti della commedia greca: studi e commenti* (Bari, 1998), 291–339 at 306–7, 309–11. For Roman examples see F. Bömer on Ovid, *Met*. 1. 90.

109 P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir* (Paris, 1983[2]), 361–80.

110 W. Michaelis, '*pantokratôr*', in *Theol. Wtb. z. Neuen Testament* III (Stuttgart, 1938), 913f.

111 Verg. *G*. 2. 149–50; Ovid, *Met*. 1. 107 with F. Bömer ad loc., *F*. 5. 207–8; Lucian, *VH* 2. 12; Claud. *Epithal*. 55. For the *locus amoenus* see also Ch. 4 n. 42.

112 Note also *Or. Sib*. 8. 214–5; Lact. *Div. Inst*. 7. 16. 9.

113 Norden, *Geburt*, 53 n. 1.

114 The account of the resurrection in *Or. Sib*. 2. 221–6 is inspired by *Ezekiel* 37. 5–10 and connected with the Last Judgement, not Paradise.

115 *Isaiah* 26. 19, 29. 18, 35. 6, 42. 7 and 18.

116 This appendix is the updated version of my 'Paradise: From Persia, via Greece, into the *Septuagint*', in G. P. Luttikhuizen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 1–20, except for Excursus 2 which is adapted from my contribution to the Festschrift for Jan den Boeft: C. Kroon and D. den Hengst (eds), *Ultima Aetas. Time, Tense and Transience in the Ancient World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2000), 83–94. For information, assistance and correction of the English I am much indebted to my colleagues Klaus Alpers, Pierre Briant, Bob Fowler, Stephen Harrison, Ton Hilhorst, Peter van Minnen, Stefan Radt, Gerrit Reinink, Marten Stol, Eibert Tigchelaar and Jos Weitenberg.

APPENDIX 3: GOD'S HEAVENLY PALACE AS A MILITARY COURT: *THE VISION OF DOROTHEUS*

1 See now A. Khosroyev, *Die Bibliothek von Nag Hammadi: einige Probleme des Christentums in Ägypten während der ersten Jahrhunderte* (Altenberge, 1995).

2 R. Kasser, 'Status quaestionis 1988 sulla presunta origine dei cosidetti Papiri Bodmer', *Aegyptus* 48 (1988), 191–4 and 'Bodmer Papyri', in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 8 vols (New York, 1991), VIII. 48–53.

3 A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt, *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX, Vision de Dorothéos* (Cologny-Geneva, 1984). The best review is by E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 58 (1986), 687–711.

4 A. H. M. Kessels and P. W. van der Horst, 'The Vision of Dorotheus (Pap. Bodmer 29)', *VigChris* 41 (1987), 313-59. I quote from this text and translation, with some minor changes. Note also the list of *errata* supplied by E. Livrea, *Kressona baskaniês. Quindici studi di poesia ellenistica* (Messina and Florence, 1993), 147f.

5 Livrea (n. 3), 707, rightly observes that 'l'ora meridiana e un momento critico, spesso scelto dalla divinita per manifestarsi all'uomo' and presents an important collection of parallels; add *Cosmas et Damian* 18. 98–9 Deubner; *Vita S. Theod. Syc.* 16 Festugière; R. Caillois, 'Les démons de midi', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 115 (1937), 142–73 and 116 (1937), 54–83, 143–86; J. B. Friedman, 'Euridice, Heurodis and the Noon-Day Demon', *Speculum* 41 (1966), 22–9; N. J. Perella, *Midday in Italian Literature* (Princeton, 1979), with an excellent bibliography. It is a recurrent topos that a vision is received in a sitting position, cf. Hermas, *Visio* V. 1; Athan. *V. Ant*. 82, 84 Bartelink; *Historia Lausiaca* 4. 4 Bartelink; E. Peterson, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Freiburg, 1959), 272f.

6 Beginning of fifth century: R. Kasser and G. Cavallo, 'Description et datation du codex des Visions', in *editio princeps* (n. 3), Appendice, followed by A. Hurst and J. Rudhardt, *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVII: 'Codex des Visions'. Poèmes divers* (Munich, 1999), 23f. Second half of fourth century: R. Kasser, G. Cavallo, J. v. Haelst, 'Nouvelle description du Codex des Visions', in A. Carlini (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer XXXVIII* (Cologny-Geneva, 1991), 103–128 at 124 (Van Haelst).

7 Personal information from Peter van Minnen.

8 D. van Berchem, 'Des soldats chrétiens dans la garde impériale: observations sur le texte de la *Vision de Dorothéos* (Papyrus Bodmer XXIX)', *Studii Clasice* 24 (1986), 155–63.

9 Hurst and Rudhardt, *Papyri Bodmer XXX-XXXVII*, 13.

10 A. James and K. Lee, *A Commentary on Quintus of Smyrna Posthomerica* V (Leiden, 2000), 5–7.

11 In the following paragraphs I summarise my results in 'An Imperial Palace Guard in Heaven: The Date of the Vision of Dorotheus', *ZPE* 75 (1988), 82–8, which have been accepted by Peter Brown, *Power and Persuasion in Late Antiquity* (Madison and London, 1992), 145 n. 329, but which are completely ignored by Hurst and Rudhardt, *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVII*. I refer to this study for all the sources related to the ranks mentioned and the evaluation of the *Vision* for our knowledge of the Roman army.

12 A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1964), I. 52.

13 Hier. *Contra Ioan. Hier*. 19 (*Patrologia Latina* 23, 386): *Finge aliquem tribuniciae potestatis suo vitio regradatum per singula militiae equestris officia ad tironis vocabulum devolutum: numquid ex tribuno statim fit tiro? non, sed ante primicerius, deinde senator, ducenarius, centenarius, biarchus, circitor, eques, dein tiro.*

14 Note that Livrea, *Kressona baskaniês*, 154 n. 15, in his objections to my dating of the *Vision*, has not realised that the point at issue is not the *biarchos*' membership of the army, but of the *schola palatina*.

15 B. de Gaiffier, '"Sub Iuliano Apostata" dans le Martyrologe Romain', *Anal. Boll*. 74 (1956), 5–49 at 19–20; F. S. Barcellona, 'Martiri e confessori dell'età di Giuliano l'Apostata dalla storia alla legenda', in F. E. Consolino (ed.), *Pagani e cristiani da Giuliano l'Apostata al sacco di Roma* (Soveria Mannelli and Messina, 1995), 53–83.

16 Philostorgius, fr. 34 p. 231. 1–7 Bidez, cf. Livrea (n. 3), 689.

17 A. Papaconstantinou, 'Martyres ou martyria? Une relecture de P. Vindob. G22. 683 (MPER XVII 78)', *ZPE* 130 (2000), 193–6.

18 The connection was postulated right from the beginning, see the bibliography in James and Lee, *A Commentary on Quintus of Smyrna*, 9 n. 36.
19 G. Agosti, 'Alcuni omerismi nella "Visio Dorothei" (P. Bodmer XXIX)', *Orpheus* N. S. 10 (1989), 101–16.
20 W. Clarysse and A. Wouters, 'A Schoolboy's Exercise in the Chester Beatty Library', *Anc. Soc.* 1 (1970), 201–35 at 228.
21 F. Vian, 'A propos de la "Vision de Dorothéos"', *ZPE* 60 (1985), 45–9.
22 Livrea, *Kressona baskaniês*, 157–71.
23 L. S. B. MacCoull, 'A Note on *panatiktos* in Visio Dorothei 11', *VigChris* 43 (1989), 293–6. MacCoull also suggests that the prefix *pan* of the hapax *panatiktos* is indicative of a late date, as it occurs only in fifth-century epic. Howeve, various adjectives with the prefix *pan* start to become popular in Imperial times.
24 R. van den Broek, *Apollo in Asia. De orakels van Clarus en Didyma in de tweede en derde eeuw na Chr.* (Leiden, 1981); S. Pricoco, 'Per una storia dell' oracolo nella tarda antichità: Apollo Clario e Didimeo in Lattanzio', *Augustinianum* 29 (1989), 351–74; D. S. Potter, *Prophecy and History in the Crisis of the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1990), 351–5.
25 Livrea: (n. 3), and 'La Visione di Dorotheus come prodotto di consumo', in O. Pecere and A. Stramaglia (eds), *La letteratura di consumo nel mondo greco-latino* (Cassino, 1996), 69–95.
26 Proclus, *In Plat. Remp.* 2. 246. 10ff, cf. Livrea (n. 3), 693 and *Kressona baskaniês*, 136f.
27 R. MacMullen, *Changes in the Roman Empire. Essays in the Ordinary* (Princeton, 1990), 95–102.
28 Eur. *Bacch.* 24 and J. Roux ad loc.
29 H. J. W. Drijvers, in W. Schneemelcher (ed.), *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1991^5), II. 327–33; see now also the studies in J. Bremmer (ed.), *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas* (Leuven, 2001).
30 For a similar conclusion see now Hurst and Rudhardt, *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVII*, 15–17.
31 A. Blanchard, 'Sur le milieu d'origine du papyrus Bodmer de Ménandre', *Chron. D'Eg.* 66 (1991), 211–20; J. L. Fournet, 'Une éthopée de Caïn dans le Codex des Visions de la Fondation Bodmer', *ZPE* 92 (1992), 253–66. *Contra*: Hurst and Rudhardt, *Papyri Bodmer XXX–XXXVII*, 5f.
32 Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha* I, 439–51.
33 An earlier version appeared as 'The Vision of Dorotheus', in J. den Boeft and A. Hilhorst (eds), *Early Christian Poetry (*Leiden, 1993), 253–61. I owe various corrections and suggestions to Ton Hilhorst and Peter van Minnen. Maryna Mews kindly corrected my English.

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